

Fruits of Migration

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Fruits of Migration

*Heterodox Italian Migrants and
Central European Culture 1550–1620*

Edited by

Cornel Zwierlein
Vincenzo Lavenia



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Cover illustration: Alciati Andrea, *Omnia [...] Emblemata: Cum commentariis*, ed. Claude Mignault (Antwerp, Christoph Plantin: 1581) [copy: BSB Munich, 037/Kst 32], p. 455, detail. The ornamental frame used as background comes from Morata *Olimpia Fulvia, Opera omnia cum eruditorum testimonijs* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1580) [copy: BSB Munich, Opp. 102], fol. *8v. The engraving shows the image of the sorrowful Italy (I.) with the cartouche 'Spoliata ingemisco (Plundered I sigh)', and Germany (G.) in triumph, with the inscription 'Ornata insurgo (Decorated I rise)'. It illustrates therefore, in nuce, the theme of our volume and shows that there were already germs of a theory about the effects of migration in early modern times close to a *translatio studiorum*: through the afflux of migrating heterodox Italians, Germany's intellectual power is increasing.

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Acknowledgements

Both the editors of this volume, who have been swapping views on the Italian *cinquecento* since their days as doctoral students participating in conferences at the Italo-German Institute at Trento, were agreed that a summary of current research on a still compelling topic was desirable and necessary. Much has been written since Cantimori on heterodox Italians, less on Italian-transalpine connections; practical knowledge concerning widely dispersed sources and literature often published in inaccessible places can be likewise hard to review. The aim of this volume has been, then, to bring together a group of young but experienced scholars of the subject to produce an interim report on the current state of research, in the full knowledge that investigations are continuing apace on all the themes touched upon here and that, alas, we have not been able to cover all the migrant individuals and groups and the ongoing discourses concerning them. A generous invitation from Paola Molino from the University of Padua provided a welcome opportunity for fruitful discussion of pre-circulated draft papers by the majority of the contributing authors as well as by three external commentators, Adelisa Malena, Chiara Petrolini and Gábor Almási (September 28, 2017). Several colleagues have also helped behind the scenes as readers and reviewers of the papers, adding different views and expertise to the editors' own readings and comments. As *Intersections* is not a series that relies on a limited pool of recurring reviewers, their anonymous status can be lifted here to thank them together with the much appreciated helping hands in Padua: Artemio E. Baldini, Paolo Carta, Brendan Dooley, Chiara Franceschini, Martin Mulsow. At a late stage of preparation, after the review process had been completed, Lucia Felici's paper could be added, enabled foremost by Vincenzo Lavenia's unmatched gentleness. Our thanks also go to the co-members of the Board of *Intersections* who immediately embraced the project and to its general editor Karl A.E. Enenkel, as well as to Ivo Romein, Arjan van Dijk, Gera van Bedaf, and Renee Otto from Brill, for their as always highly professional and efficient collaboration, and also to the typesetting team of Asiatype Inc. for a very quick and precise type-setting. The texts by non-English-speakers have been edited by Stephen Walsh, the introduction partially edited and partially translated by John Phillimore.

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Introduction: Heterodox Italian Migrants and Central European Culture 1550–1620

Cornel Zwierlein and Vincenzo Lavenia

In his recent book on the Reformation Nicholas Terpstra has given us a global overview of the religious diasporas of a period that has been called Europe's 'Age of Confessionalisation' (*Konfessionalisierung*).¹ According to his study, the divisions triggered by the Reformation among the Christian communities both at the local urban and at the national level, cannot properly be understood without taking account of the mass exodus of persecuted ethnic and religious groups from the Iberian peninsula (Jews, *conversos* and *moriscos*), and without also considering how these individual and collective migrations produced new contacts and identities which themselves contributed, intolerance notwithstanding, to forging a new world extending beyond the borders of Europe. 'The early modern paradox is that confessionalist exclusivity could develop alongside practical co-existence'.² The space devoted to Italy and Germany in his investigations is not extensive; nonetheless, the author (who has delved extensively in the Bologna archives) is fully aware that the phenomenon of religious migration did also concern the Italian- and German-speaking landmasses.

- 1 For an introduction to the debate about the concept of 'confessionalisation' see. Brady T.A., "Confessionalization – The Career of a Concept", in Headley J.M. – Hillerbrand H.J. – Papalas A.J. (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot: 2004) 1–20; Bianchin L., *Dove non arriva la legge. Dottrine della censura nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 2005) 19–52; Zwierlein C., "'(Ent)konfessionalisierung' (1935) und 'Konfessionalisierung' (1981)", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 98 (2007) 199–230 and for still more recent developments, idem, "'Konfessionalisierung' europäisch, global als epistemischer Prozess. Zu den Folgen der Reformation und zur Methodendiskussion", in Strohm C. (ed.), *Reformation und Recht. Ein Beitrag zur Kontroverse um die Kulturwirkungen der Reformation* (Tübingen: 2017) 1–51. See also Prodi P., *Storia moderna o genesi della modernità?* (Bologna: 2012).
- 2 Terpstra N., *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: an Alternative History of the Reformation* (New York: 2015) 16. For general overviews about the history of confessional migration see also MacCulloch D., *The Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: 2003); Kamen H., *The Disinherited: Exile and the Making of Spanish Culture, 1492–1975* (New York: 2007); Oberman E.A., *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Geneva: 2009); Janssen G.H., *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: 2014); Fehler T.G. et al. (eds.), *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London: 2014); Spohnholz J. and Waite G.K., *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London: 2014).

Then again, we only have to glance at Italian historiography to be reminded that the theme of exile *causa religionis* has long been a leitmotif of studies on the crisis of the *Cinquecento*, and that the ‘missing Reformation’ issue has left its mark on political debate from the Risorgimento through Fascism to Republican Italy.³ Besides, international historical enquiry in recent years, as indeed reflected in Terpstra’s volume, has been paying increasing attention to such hybrid figures as Leo Africanus, as also to the Iberian world generally, to global migration, to the commercial and cultural networks created by the Jewish and Armenian diasporas and to phenomena of mass expulsion.⁴ In this wide framework, the exile of Italian intellectuals and small groups to Northern Europe in the Reformation era may risk being somewhat marginalized historiographically, not least because the Italian peninsula in the early modern period – in contrast to Spain, Portugal and France – did not witness wholesale expulsions and massacres, with the exception of the Waldensians in Calabria and Piedmont.⁵ On the other hand, Italy did welcome a variety of Christian refugee communities: the Greeks in the later fifteenth century, the Sephardic *conversos* in the sixteenth, groups of *moriscos* after 1609, the Jacobite court and sundry English Catholics after the fall of the Stuarts.⁶ Without counting that religious migration in Europe, even if it did not give rise to any mass exodus from the Italian peninsula, did entail a substantial enough diaspora, filtered over time, it’s true, but not limited to single exceptional artists and intellectuals.

3 Firpo M., “La riforma italiana del Cinquecento. Le premesse storiografiche”, *Schifanoia* 19 (1999) 7–43; Spini G., *Italia liberale e protestanti* (Turin: 2002); Seidel Menchi S., “The Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Italian Historiography, 1939–2009”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100 (2009) 193–217. See also the essay by N. Tarrant in this volume.

4 See, at least, Kaplan Y., *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden: 2002); Garcia-Arenal M. & Wiegers G., *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, trans. M. Beagles, with a foreword by D. Nirenberg and R. Kagan (Baltimore-London: 2003); Zemon Davis N., *Trickster Travels: a Sixteenth-century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: 2007); Trivellato F., *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven-London: 2009); Antunes C. et al. (eds.), *Religion and Trade: Cross-cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900* (Oxford: 2014).

5 Scaramella P., *L’Inquisizione romana e i valdesi di Calabria (1554–1702)* (Naples: 1999). For the Waldensians in Piedmont see below.

6 It is enough to cite Corp E., *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766* (Cambridge: 2011); Pomara B., “La diaspora morisca in Italia: storie di mediatori, schiavitù e battesimi”, *Storia Economica* 7 (2014) 163–193.

And then again, the Reformation in Italy did acquire a character of its own, owing much to the presence in Naples of an exiled Spaniard accused of *alumbradismo*: We refer, of course, to Juan de Valdés.⁷

When Delio Cantimori published the first edition of his *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (1939), a text which more than any other has contributed to the cultural history of Italians exiled in that century, the author had been for some while on the editorial board of the journal *Studi Germanici* and involved in a cultural exchange project between Italy and Germany, which, given the period, was not without political overtones.⁸ Prior to his conversion to anti-Fascism, Cantimori – who flew the flag for a patriotic conception of the primacy of Italian culture in the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the subsequent cultural decadence of the Peninsula and the modern Protestant hegemony – tended to look on the transformation of Germany in the nineteen-thirties and the rise of Nazism through the restricted lens of a scholar of *Cinquecento* religious history. Although his pioneering work has also been influential for the historiography of the Italian heterodox migration, a closer look reveals that the spatial horizon of the study barely crosses the Alps: besides the central chapters on Basel and Switzerland (Geneva, Zurich), only Poland was relatively prominent because of Cantimori's interest in the radical anti-trinitarians (Fausto Sozzini, Francesco Pucci, Giorgio Biandrata). His selectivity was not without consequences. If we leaf through the bibliography of the Italian Reform movement compiled by John Tedeschi in 1997, it is apparent that Germany accounts for fewer titles than other parts of Europe.⁹ In recent years too,

7 See Firpo M., *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, transl. R. Bates (Farnham: 2015).

8 Cantimori D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento e altri scritti*, ed. A. Prosperi (Turin: 1992). Cf. Mangoni L., *Introduzione: Europa sotterranea*, in Cantimori D., *Politica e storia contemporanea. Scritti 1927–1942* (Turin: 1991) xlii–xlii; Pertici R., “Mazzinianesimo, fascismo, comunismo: l'itinerario politico di Delio Cantimori (1919–1943)”, *Storia della Storiografia* 31 (1997) 3–182.

9 Tedeschi J. (ed.), *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (ca. 1750–1997)*, coed. J.M. Lattis (Modena: 2000). J. Tedeschi has devoted much attention to the relationships between exiles from Italy and German World in the essays now collected in *Intellettuali in esilio. Dall'Inquisizione romana al fascismo*, eds. G. Caravale and S. Pastore (Rome: 2012).

studies of early modern Italian emigration have focused chiefly on England¹⁰ and on France.¹¹

- 10 Arienzo A. and Petrina a. (eds.), *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England. Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration* (Farnham: 2013); Schaff B. (ed.), *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (New York-Amsterdam: 2010); Pirillo D., *Filosofia ed eresia nell'Inghilterra del tardo Cinquecento. Bruno, Sidney e i dissidenti religiosi italiani* (Rome: 2010); Rotondò A., *Il primo soggiorno in Inghilterra e i primi scritti teologici di Francesco Pucci*, now in idem, *Studi di storia ereticale del Cinquecento* (Firenze: 2008) vol. 2, 577–615; Overell A., *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c. 1535–c. 1585* (Aldershot: 2008); Franceschini C. et al. (ed.), *Questioni di storia inglese tra Cinque e Seicento: cultura, politica e religione* (Pisa: 2006); Wyatt M., *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: a Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: 2005); Walsham A., *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: 2006) (passim on several Italo-English cases); Campi E. (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli. Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: 2002) 173–202; Overall A., “Vergerio’s Anti-Nicodemite Propaganda and England, 1547–1558”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000) 296–318; Pettegree A., *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: 1986); Panizza D., *Alberico Gentili, giurista ideologo nell'Inghilterra elisabettiana* (Padua 1981); Bartlett K., “The English Exile Community in Italy”, *Albion* 13 (1981) 223–241; McNair P., “Peter Martyr in England”, in McLelland J. (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo: 1980) 85–105; Firpo M., *Pietro Bizzarri esule italiano del Cinquecento* (Turin: 1971); Stella A., “Guido da Fano, eretico del secolo XVI al servizio dei re d'Inghilterra”, *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 13 (1959) 196–238; Firpo L., “La comunità evangelica italiana a Londra nel XVI secolo”, in Cantimori D. et al. (eds.), *Ginevra e l'Italia* (Florence: 1958) 309–411.
- 11 Belligni E., “Renata di Francia tra Riforma Ginevrina e Nicodemismo”, in Peyronel Rambaldi S. (ed.), *Giovanni Calvino e la Riforma in Italia. Influenze e conflitti* (Turin: 2011) 117–143; Reid J., *King's Sister, Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) and Her Evangelical Network* (Leiden: 2009) passim; Benedict Ph. – Seidel Menchi S. – Tallon A. (eds.), *La Réforme en France et en Italie. Contacts, comparaisons et contrastes* (Rome: 2007). If one does not want as far back as to Romier L., *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1913), who traced the roots of the French wars of the second half of the century in the Italo-French connections of the first half, the edition of the *Correspondance* of the Cardinal Jean du Bellay, 6 vols., eds. R. Scheurer and L. Petris (Paris: 1969–2016) provides in its critical apparatus the most recent bibliography of those Italo-French networks established in those times (not only but strongly) around Martin du Bellay and other protagonists of the Italian wars of the Neapolitan succession; see also Cooper R., *'Litterae in tempore belli'. Études sur les relations littéraires italo-françaises pendant les guerres d'Italie* (Geneva: 1997). The study of Italian influence in France during the sixteenth century goes far beyond ‘evangelical’ influences: see Dubost J.-F., *La France italienne, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 1997); Balsamo J., *Les rencontres des muses. Italianisme et anti-italianisme dans les Lettres françaises de la fin du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva-Paris: 1992). For some entanglements

Because Cantimori's study has been so influential, most of all for Italian historiography, Italian historians tended to continue the master's focus on the most heterodox, radical and marginal figures – but less on the emigrants who integrated themselves into Protestant churches abroad or the merchant families with sometimes enigmatic religious status, although the latter played an important role in providing the infrastructure for communication between heterodox foreigners abroad. Lucca has been studied as probably the most important and enduring centre where it is at all meaningful to discuss the existence of a real Protestant 'ecclesia Lucensis' between the 1540s and the 1570s: some case studies have shown here the importance of merchant networks reaching as far afield as the cities of Nuremberg and Frankfurt.¹² Several Italians of the second or even third generation of heterodox believers who set out towards Northern Europe, were also – perhaps principally – moving in accordance with the rhythms and conjunctures of market development: religious and economic motives for migration went hand in hand.¹³

Furthermore, the periodization of Italian religious history adopted by Cantimori tended to privilege the legacy of humanism over the creation of

between heterodox migration and political dissenting forms (*fuorusciti*) cf. *La République en exil (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)*, special issue of *Le laboratoire italien. Politique et société* 3 (2002).

- 12 Berengo M., *Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento* (Turin: 1965) 357–454; Adorni-Braccesi S., 'Una città infetta'. *La repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Florence: 1994); after the opening of the diocesan archives of Lucca cf. some new findings by Adorni-Braccesi S., "Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale di Michele di Alessandro Diodati (aprile 1559–aprile 1560)", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, special issue *Inquisizioni*, ser. 5, 1/2 (2009) 363–386.
- 13 The Italian *nationes* in the larger German Imperial cities (Augsburg, Cologne, Frankfurt a. M., Nuremberg) mostly faded away at the eve of the Thirty Years' War: Bauer L., "Die italienischen Kaufleute und ihre Stellung im protestantischen Nürnberg am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts (Zu einem Bericht an die Kurie vom Jahre 1593)", *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 22 (1962) 1–18; Gramulla G.S., *Handelsbeziehungen Kölner Kaufleute zwischen 1500 und 1560* (Cologne: 1972) 166–179; Kellenbenz H., "Mercanti Lucchesi a Norimberga, Francoforte, Colonia e Lipsia nel XVI e nella prima metà del XVII secolo", in Mazzei R. – Fanfani T. (eds.), *Lucca e l'Europa degli affari: secoli XV–XVII* (Lucca: 1990) 209–226; Adorni-Braccesi S., "Le 'Nazioni' lucchesi nell'Europa della Riforma", *Critica Storica* 28/3 (1991) 363–426, 405–413. A new immigration mostly from the Lombard region due to demographic problems and war devastation started only with the 1630s and continued during the seventeenth and eighteenth century: see Augel J., *Italienische Einwanderung und Wirtschaftstätigkeit in rheinischen Städten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: 1971). Some important religious refugees like members of the Calandrini and Balbani families were also among the early Nuremberg and Frankfurt immigrants for some time, but our knowledge on them is still very scarce.

new political and religious languages after Machiavelli, making a key date of the year 1542, which saw the arrival of the Roman Inquisition and the flight beyond the Alps of such notable figures as Bernardino Ochino.¹⁴ While it is true that Cantimori also studied the story of exiles through to the beginning of the seventeenth century,¹⁵ the main focus of his research was the period from fifteen-forty to fifteen-sixty. Then again, a general Italian cultural antipathy to Luther, and to some extent Calvin (shared by Giovanni Gentile and Benedetto Croce) also contributed, in the twentieth century, to the relative neglect of the German world in the panorama of Italian religious studies.

It seems to us that the atmosphere has now changed.¹⁶ In recent years, a new historiography of the Inquisition, the opening of the central archives of the Holy Office,¹⁷ Massimo Firpo's studies of the '*spirituali*' and Prosperi's on Benedictine heresy have enriched our picture of the religious history of

14 For most of the relevant bibliography on Ochino see below the contribution by M. Camaioni.

15 Cf. Cantimori D., *Prospettive di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Bari: 1960).

16 Without counting the recent research on the German presence in Baroque Italy: see Fosi I., *Convertire lo straniero. Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Rome: 2011) passim.

17 Cf. Maifreda G., *The Business of the Roman Inquisition in the Early Modern Era* (London-New York: 2017); Mayer Th. F., *The Roman Inquisition. A Papal Bureaucracy and Its Law in the Age of Galileo* (Philadelphia: 2013); *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio della congregazione per la dottrina delle fede: storia e archivi dell'inquisizione* (Rome: 2011); Prosperi A. – Lavenia V. – Tedeschi J. (eds.), *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010); Baldini U. – Spruit L. (eds.), *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and Index. I. Sixteenth-century* (Vatican City: 2009); Prosperi A., *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, 2nd ed. (Turin: 2009); Black C.F., *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven – London: 2009); Del Col A., *L'Inquisizione in Italia. Dal XII al XXI secolo* (Milan: 2006); Romeo G., *L'inquisizione nell'Italia moderna* (Rome – Bari: 2002); Wolf H. (ed.), *Inquisition, Index, Zensur. Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit* (Paderborn – Munich – Vienna: 2001); Firpo M. – Marcatto D. (eds.), *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi 1557–1567*, 2 vols. in 4 (Vatican City: 1998–2000); Fragnito G., *La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e la Scrittura (1471–1605)* (Bologna: 1997); Tedeschi J., *The Prosecution of Heresy. Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton: 1991). For some recent overviews see Bonora E., "L'archivio dell'Inquisizione e gli studi storici: primi bilanci e prospettive a dieci anni dall'apertura", *Rivista Storica Italiana* 120 (2008) 968–1002; Valente M., "Nuove ricerche e interpretazioni sul Sant'Uffizio a più di dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 66 (2012) 569–592. For the German lands Burkardt A. – Schwerhoff G. (eds.), *Tribunal der Barbaren? Deutschland und die Inquisition in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Konstanz: 2012).

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the ideological baggage that deflected Italian research (infecting it on occasion with a degree of spurious moral judgement) has begun to lose its importance. Finally, if we look at Elena Bonora's work, we see to what extent relations with Vienna and the German Empire remained central for the Roman Curia even after the power-grab within the Inquisition by the hardline faction associated with Giampietro Carafa (Paul IV) and the end of the Council of Trent.¹⁸ The biography of such a figure as Jacopo Strada seems to us to testify as much.¹⁹ Most of all, figures like him do remind us that a story of 'heterodox' migration has to be open to a wide range of individual choices and religious ambiguities. We find migrants active in networks that have a multiform character with regard to the adherence of the one or the other correspondent to a religious belief – all the more in a period where clear-cut 'confessional' distinctions were still unclear and in a state of development. Beyond a real 'nicodemism' if we mean by that the conscious dissimulation of a religious conviction to which a person subscribed privately,²⁰ there were many forms of more or less unconscious ambiguities; people were moving and acting – still during the second half of the sixteenth century and beyond – in a 'lowland of belief (*le plat pays de la croyance*)', as Thierry Wanegffelen christened that fluid zone for France and French travelers in the physical as well as in the metaphorical space of changing religious and confessional conditions, borders and situations in Europe: converts and migrants who were sometimes accused of being religiously heterodox while themselves being convinced of never having shifted in their beliefs and practices.²¹

18 Firpo M., *La presa di potere dell'Inquisizione romana 1550–1553* (Rome – Bari: 2014); Bonora E., *Giudicare i vescovi. La definizione dei poteri nella Chiesa posttridentina* (Rome – Bari: 2007).

19 See the contribution by D. Jansen in this volume.

20 Cantimori D., "Il nicodemismo", *Quaderni di Belfagor* 1 (1948) 12–23; Ginzburg C., *Il nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (Turin: 1970); Biondi A. "La giustificazione della simulazione nel Cinquecento", 1974, now in idem, *Umanisti, eretici e streghe. Saggi di storia moderna*, ed. M. Donattini, introd. A. Prosperi (Modena: 2008) 15–65; Zagorin P., *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge/Mass.: 1990); Houdt T. van et al. (eds.), *On the Edge of Truth and Honesty: Principles and Strategies of Fraud and Deceit in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden – Boston: 2002).

21 Wanegffelen Th., *Ni Rome, ni Genève: des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: 1997).

Italian heterodox migrants – and here Cantimori's early point still holds true – tended not to form whole communities – like the Piedmont Waldensians²² – or churches in exile like the Huguenots or the Dutch refugees migrating to England or Germany because of the wars of religion in their own countries; the migrating Italians were mostly individuals, though usually in close contact with those other foreign exile groups.²³ If one might therefore doubt whether they form a coherent identifiable 'group' at all, an interesting question is nevertheless what they brought with them, and if those pre-Thirty-Years-War generations had a perhaps hidden and lasting preparatory impact on the overwhelmingly 'Italianised' Baroque culture of the later seventeenth and eighteenth century. This means looking less for the specificities of the reformed or Lutheran theology developed by 'Italian' (broadly speaking) migrant

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- 22 Cf. Armand Hugon A., *Storia dei Valdesi, Dal Sinodo di Chanforan al 1848* (Turin: 1974); Cameron E., *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford: 1984); Paravy P., *De la chrétienté romaine à la réforme en Dauphiné*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1993); Audisio G., *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival c. 1170–c. 1570*, transl. C. Davison (Cambridge: 1999); idem, *Preachers by Night: The Waldensian Barbes (15th–16th Centuries)*, transl. C. Davison (Leiden – Boston: 2007). See the publications of the Società di Studi Valdesi di Torre Pellice, in Piedmont. Most recent literature in Zwierlein C., "The Waldensians, Bucer, Beza, Castellio, and French-German Confessional Diplomacy 1556/7", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 106 (2015) 184–241.
- 23 One might take the famous Swiss Italian churches in Geneva, Zurich and Basle as exception, but they were likewise formed rather by a steady individual immigration, than by the arrival of a whole migrating church in one moment, cf. Taplin M., *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540–1620* (Aldershot: 2003) with further bibliography; Denis P., *Les Églises d'Étrangers en Pays Rhénans (1538–1564)* (Paris: 1984) for the valley of the Rhine between Cologne and Basel. For the Palatinate Zwierlein C., "Heidelberg und der Westen", in C. Strohm – J.S. Freedman – H.J. Selderhuis (eds.), *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession. Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philosophie in Heidelberg an der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 2006) 27–92, here 42f.; the northwestern Dutch migrant communities usually also formed rather by constant afflux of singular families than by the move of complete communities, cf. Roosbroeck R. van, *Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland, 1550–1620* (Leuven: 1968); Schilling H., *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh: 1972); further aspects and literature in Zwierlein C., "Religionskriegsmigration, Französischunterricht, Kulturtransfer und die Zeitungsproduktion im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Francia* 37, 1 (2010) 97–129, here 102f.

theologians such as Flacius,²⁴ Vermigli,²⁵ Zanchi,²⁶ Tremellio,²⁷ Gribaldi,²⁸ Pucci,²⁹ but rather for what those and other non-theologians carried north with them of the proto-national, late Renaissance forms of Italian literature, politics, legal thought, and of specific know-how such as fortification architecture and other techniques, of the practical expertise of the highly developed Italian merchant culture.

This brings us to a different level of ‘migration’ – migration not, or not only, of men and women, but of discourses and ideas, of arts and craftsmanship. Anyone today studying cultural interconnections in the early modern age, particularly those conditioned by migration and diaspora, cannot ignore either the history of the book (and not just in the sense of the history of translations and ecclesiastical censorship, but also the story of book production and commerce) or the history of political and cultural information: the modern

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- 24 There is a huge revival of interest in Flacius, but less on his Istrian-Venetian roots Olson O., *Matthias Flacius and the Survival of Luther's Reform* (Wiesbaden: 2002); Kaufmann T., *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen: 2003). Haye T., “Der Catalogus testium veritatis des Matthias Flacius Illyricus – eine Einführung in die Literatur des Mittelalters?”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992) 31–48 and Hartmann M. (ed.), *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik: Matthias Flacius Illyricus als Erforscher des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: 2001) have both addressed the historian Flacius who would become the great opponent of Baronius and others, but mostly regarding the ‘Middle Ages’, less regarding perhaps also hidden influences and transcripts of the Italian vernacular form of narrating and constructing secular History as it was just in its early state of flowering (not only in Florence), being carried over to a new form of ecclesiastical history.
- 25 For an introduction into the rich literature on Vermigli and the ongoing edition of his works see Campi E. – James F.A. III (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden – Boston: 2009).
- 26 For Zanchi see Merkle B.R., *Defending the Trinity in the Reformed Palatinate. The Elohistae* (Oxford: 2015) passim; Zanchi G., *De religione christiana fides – Confession of Christian Religion*, 2 vols., ed. L. Baschera – C. Moser (Leiden – Boston: 2007).
- 27 Austin K., *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: 2007). But see also his contribution in this volume.
- 28 Gilly G., *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600. Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt* (Basel et al.: 1985) 299–304; Quaglioni D., “‘Iis, qui vix usquam locum tutum inveniunt’ Giuristi, riformatori religiosi, fuorusciti. Matteo Gribaldi Mofa (+1564)”, *Laboratoire italien* 3 (2002) 79–92.
- 29 Pucci F., *De praedestinatione*, ed. M. Biagioni (Florence: 2000); Tarrant N., “Concord and Toleration in the Thought of Francesco Pucci, 1578–81”, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 46, 4 (2015) 983–1003; Caravale G., *The Italian Reformation outside Italy. Francesco Pucci's Heresy in Sixteenth-century Europe* (Leiden-Boston: 2015).

newspaper in its earliest form, the handwritten *avvisi* which were an Italian novelty taken over and further developed by Hans Jakob Fugger, one of the patrons of Strada, who looms large in this volume;³⁰ nor can we ignore the history of material exchange³¹ or that of the spread of philosophical, political, artistic and juridical languages. Heterodox migrants were often promoters of Italian culture abroad in many other spheres than the religious or theological, and similarly Protestant northern hosts in Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and elsewhere, were in their turn much interested in Italian politics, arts, medicine – if indeed there was an advanced Italian medical science distinguishable from a general European one – and other cultural forms beyond religious convergence; cultural transfers happened to a large extent as ‘by-products’ of religious migration. That the first mention of Machiavelli north of the Alps is to be found in a letter written by one of the well-known Lucchesi Protestant refugees in Bucer’s Strasbourg (Odoni)³² and that the Florentine was then included as *testis veritatis* in Flacius’ *Catalogus* of Protestant martyrs and precursors of Lutheran truth is just one tiny example. That it was the Tuscan Protestant Rocco de’ Linari who designed the fortifications of Spandau for the Elector of Brandenburg is another.³³ At the university of Heidelberg, Tremellio,

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- 30 Zwierlein C., *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkraumen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: 2006) 198–293, 557–611; De Vivo F., *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: 2007); Dooley B., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: 2010); Zwierlein C., “Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis von italienisch-deutschem Kulturtransfer 1552–1570”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 90 (2010) 169–224; Bauer O., *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung: Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: 2011); Pettegree A., *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven – London: 2014); Raymond J. – Moxham N. (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden-Boston: 2016).
- 31 Findlen P. (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500–1800* (London-New York: 2013). In a more global perspective see Gerritsen A. – Riello G. (eds.), *The Global Lives of Things: the Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London-New York: 2016).
- 32 Perini L., “Gli eretici italiani del ‘500 e Machiavelli”, *Studi storici* 10 (1969) 877–918, here 881f.
- 33 Biller T., “Architektur und Politik des 16. Jh.s in Sachsen und Brandenburg: Rochus Guérini Graf zu Lynar, 1525–1596; Leben u. Werk”, *Bär von Berlin* 40 (1991) 7–38; Zwierlein C., “Savoyen-Piemonts Verhältnis zum Reich 1536 bis 1618: zwischen ständischer Reichspolitik und absolutistischer Außenpolitik”, in Schnettger M. – Verga M. (eds.), *L’Impero e l’Italia nella prima età moderna. Das Reich und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bologna: 2006), 347–389, 354f.; Castor M., “Rocco di Linar und die ‘Mathematica Militaris’ der Dresdner

Zanchi and Pace³⁴ were teaching theology, philosophy and law, and Ippolito de' Colli, from a refugee family from Alessandria (Piedmont) was, after a period at Basel, active in the innermost court circles as well as at the university, and published there at the same time works such as the *Princeps* or the *Consiliarius* which made available in Latin many elements of Italian late Renaissance vernacular political culture in a watered down version, these becoming, together with many other new works, quite important in German courts during the 17th century, along the lines of a contemporary Latin Castiglione transplanted to a Protestant environment, and made available for trans-confessional reception.³⁵ Pace's summary of the Venetian theory of maritime empire was well received in England, together with Sarpi's treatise on the subject, which, together with works by John Selden, formed the nucleus of its *Mare Clausum* project and therefore arguably a foretaste of early English imperial doctrines.³⁶ Basel is well known as one of the most important centres for such Italo-Northern links, yet while Pietro Perna's printing workshop has been studied extensively,³⁷ much has still to be done on how those works were received in the North, what importance Guicciardini might have had, for instance, in later 16th- and early 17th-century Northern libraries.³⁸ Another vast unexplored field remains the question of the West-East-exchanges regarding what has dubbed the *trace*

Fortifikation in italienischer Manier", in B. Marx (ed.), *Elbflorenz. Italienische Präsenz in Dresden 16–19. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam – Dresden: 2000) 101–34.

- 34 Vasoli C., "Giulio Pace e la diffusione europea di alcuni temi aristotelici padovani", in L. Olivieri (ed.), *Aristotelismo veneto e scienza moderna* (Padova: 1983) 1009–1035; Acquaviva G., "Giulio Pace: la giurisdizione di Venezia sul Mare Adriatico", in idem – T. Scovazzi (eds.), *Il dominio di Venezia sul mare adriatico nelle opere di Paolo Sarpi e Giulio Pace* (Milano: 2007) 39–72.
- 35 On Colli see Conermann K., "Hippolytus a Collibus. Zur 'Ars politica et aulica' im Heidelberger Gelehrtenkreis", in: Buck A. et al. (eds.), *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3 (Hamburg: 1981) 693–700; Zwierlein, "Heidelberg und der Westen" 76–86; Kühlmann W., "Hippolytus a Collibus (1561–1612), ein politischer Schriftsteller und der Zingref-Kreis", in idem (ed.), *Julius Wilhelm Zingref und der Heidelberger Späthumanismus* (Ubstadt-Weiher u.a.: 2011) 451–470.
- 36 Toomer G.J., *John Selden. A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 2009) vol. 1, 405; Zwierlein C., *Imperial Unknowns. The French and the British in the Mediterranean, 1650–1750* (Cambridge: 2016) 98.
- 37 Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002).
- 38 Lepri V. – Severini M.E., *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo. I 'Ricordi' di Francesco Guicciardini tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Geneva: 2011) 199–238 makes a first attempt to track the influence of the *Ricordi* in selected works of the German academic *Politica* publications. See Carta P., *Francesco Guicciardini tra diritto e politica* (Padua: 2008) 125–187 for some further observations, more on the French paths of reception.

italienne, so far only in the context of the so-called 'Military Revolution' but which was in fact a phenomenon of bilateral transfers regarding many other realms of culture.³⁹ Eastern European – mostly Polish – Protestant noblemen often studied at universities like Heidelberg, Altdorf and Herborn instead of in the further off, expensive and – during the times of the wars of religion – riskier France, combining 'western' learning with a Protestant environment,⁴⁰ but they were also eager to read 'Latinised' Italian authors, for example, as is evident from the many dedicatory letters found in such translations.

It is rather the case that for several of the figures mentioned some articles or works have been familiar for some time in local history contexts, while others have long been studied as important reformers, with whole editions of their works being published (Flacius, Vermigli), and others again have their place in the history of their respective disciplines (e.g. Law or Medicine). But to search Flacius', Zanchi's, Pucci's works specifically for their 'Italian' elements rather than for their Gnesio-Lutheran apocalypticism, or to do the same for reformist biblico-historical theology (Dante, Petrarca, Savonarola, Machiavelli as intimations of pre-Reformation 'truths', etc), is a different exercise altogether. To search for a link between Scipio Gentili's method of teaching law and his editing of the *Gerusalemme liberata* in a tradition of vernacular Italian academy culture as well as of a methodical Paduan Aristotelianism where Poetics and Law both belonged to a wider understanding of Logic applied to the exercise of a rational civic rational government, might reveal a different aspect of Altdorf (Nuremberg)'s peculiar urban and academic culture at that historical juncture. What could seem at a first glance quite foreign to the small Franconian

39 Parker G., *The Military Revolution. Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: 1988) has coined that term for the spatial distribution of the Italian form of fortification building across Europe, also later by French rather than Italian engineers as in the sixteenth century.

40 Kohnle A., "Die Universität Heidelberg als Zentrum des reformierten Protestantismus im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert", in: Szögi L. – Font M. (eds.), *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa* (Pécs: 2001) 141–161; Kunstmann H., *Die Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Ostbeziehungen deutscher Universitäten* (Cologne – Graz: 1963). Beyond the analysis of university rolls, a systematic study of the German (Latin, Latinized Italian) *Politica* literature and their many dedicatory epistles to Eastern nobles and of Eastern nobles' doctoral disputations would greatly enrich our knowledge concerning that East/West-relationship. For the bibliography, see Scattola M., *L'ordine del sapere. La bibliografia politica tedesca del Seicento*, Archivio della Ragion di Stato 10–11 (Napoli: 2002); Philipp M., bibliography online <http://www.philso.uni-augsburg.de/webz/Politiki/geschpol.htm>.

university on the fringe of the larger merchant city of Nuremberg, becomes on closer inspection the continuance of an Aristotelian tradition already prepared for by Paduan influences and readings.⁴¹ To seek out Italianising by-products like such translations from Italian Renaissance poets as Tasso by dilettanti primarily employed as lawyers or in other professions, and in that light to place some of those who are thought of today as minor figures (but often were not so in their own times) on the same level as more famous ones, might be a promising enterprise whereby many *lacunae* could be filled.

The impact of Italian humanist and Renaissance writing in vernacular and Latinised form on later northern humanists around 1600, while already acknowledged, still requires the study of many texts and authors never previously analysed from the perspective of a merging of cultures, a merging of political and other 'scientific' languages with 'Italian' roots, with the German and Latin neo-scholastic culture of academic and para-academic writing: Hieronymus Turler, Lazarus von Schwendi, Christoph Besold, Hugo Blotius,⁴² Johann Jakob Fickler, Georg Obrecht, Eberhard von der Weihe, Kaspar Schoppe are among the better known names from a large number of learned men of the time for whom such an investigation would be promising. We also need to put the migration of heterodox Italians and heterodox Italian culture into the changing context of how northerners were interested in Italian culture in general. They could offer something that was highly appreciated in the north, concerning many aspects of their own culture: they were in no sense 'mendicants', but had much to teach their hosts. It is worth remembering that many German

41 See on Gentili Strohm C., *Calvinismus und Recht. Weltanschaulich-konfessionelle Aspekte im Werk reformierter Juristen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: 2008) 19; Bianchin L., "Il diritto pubblico nel rinnovamento della tradizione dottrinale. Il *De Iurisdictione* di Scipione Gentili (1601)", in Dilcher G. – Quaglioni D. (eds.), *Gli inizi del diritto pubblico III: Verso la costruzione del diritto pubblico tra medioevo e modernità* (Bologna – Berlin: 2011) 425–444; on the institutional context Mährle W., *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)* (Stuttgart: 2000); Lucia Bianchin in this volume and Zwierlein C., "Scipione and Alberico Gentili on Conspiracies around 1600: Tacitean views on the *crimen laesae majestatis*" (Ms. for the *Giornata Gentiliana* of San Ginesio, Sept. 2016, org. V. Lavenia, forthcoming). For the contribution of Gentili in the spread of the literature about the Turks in Germany see Lavenia V., "Turkophilia and Religion: Machiavelli, Giovio, and the Sixteenth-Century Debate about War", in Biasiori L. – Marcocci G. (eds.), *Machiavelli, Islam and the East: Reorienting the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Basingstoke: 2018) 37–60 and *passim*.

42 But see now Molino P., *L'impero di carta. Storia di una biblioteca e di un bibliotecario (Vienna, 1575–1608)* (Rome: 2017).

lawyers who became administrators in the territorial states of the Holy Roman Empire used to be trained in Italian universities – and this is true not only of Catholic Bavaria,⁴³ but also for Calvinist and Lutheran countries like the Palatinate⁴⁴ and Saxony, even long after the Reformation. They were already Italianised to some extent and appreciated the possibility of Italian culture near to hand without their having to travel to find it. The training of young Northern nobles, patricians and princes – via the ‘Grand Tour’,⁴⁵ through manuscripts copied for them (examples of which are still to be found in the noble and princely libraries⁴⁶) and through books bought in Italy⁴⁷ –

43 30% of the sixteenth century Bavarian councilors had studied in Italy, Lanzinner M., *Fürst, Räte und Landstände. Die Entstehung der Zentralbehörden in Bayern, 1511–1598* (Göttingen: 1980) 202, 224f.

44 Cf. the prosopographies to be retrieved from Press V., *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat. Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz, 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: 1970) and Drüll D., *Heidelberger Gelehrtenlexikon, 1386–1651* (Berlin: 2002).

45 Leibetseder M., *Die Kavalierstour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2004); Paravicini W. (ed.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: 2005); Conrad N., *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: 1982) 89–95.

46 The phenomenon of manuscript *relazioni*, political treatises, papal instructions and *discorsi* copied in manuscript for cardinal and noble libraries is better known for Italy itself: cf. Raines D., “L’archivio familiare strumento di formazione politica del patriziato veneziano”, *Accademie e biblioteche d’Italia* 4 (1996) 5–38; Seidler S.M., *Il teatro del mondo. Diplomatische und juristische Relationen vom römischen Hof aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/M: 1996) 152–162; but less studied for the cases of transfer of such material north of the Alps around 1600: Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei* 182–193; idem, “Normativität und Empirie. Denkraum der Präzedenz zwischen Königen auf dem Basler Konzil, am päpstlichen Hof (1564) und in der entstehenden Politikwissenschaft (bis 1648)”, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 125 (2005) 101–132, here 117f, for the analysis of such a collection of Italian *discorsi* and other manuscripts copied on the Italian (probably Venetian) market for the young princes Johann Casimir von Nassau-Wiesbaden today preserved in the Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe together with similar volumes possessed by the margraves of Baden.

47 Cf. for instance on the book-ownership of duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, the first German prince of importance who converted back from Lutheranism to Catholicism and who remained central during the years before the Thirty Years War: he was trained by reading Giovanni Botero, Filippo Cavriana, Ciro Spontone, Girolamo Frachetta next to German *politica* authors, the books showing his autograph possessor entry: Mader E.-O., “Die Konversion Wolfgang Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg: Zur Rolle von politischem und religiös-theologischem Denken für seinen Übertritt zum Katholizismus”, in Lotz-Heumann U. et al. (eds.), *Konversion und Konfession in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Gütersloh: 2007) 107–146, here 118–126.

in the 'Italian way' of political culture became visible in just those decades before and after 1600,⁴⁸ and again this went for Protestants as well as for Catholics. It was, indeed, heterodox Italian migrants who had often cleared the path for this process in the Northern countries. The importance of Italian as a language in which princes, courtiers or important nobles and administrators like Heinrich Rantzau were trained, and of heterodox Italian migrants like Salvator Fabris or Giacomo Castelvetro who were performing that role teachers of language and culture as far north as the Danish court around 1600, has quite recently been the subject of study.⁴⁹ But Italian was also a language necessary for the education of merchants: from Antwerp to Cologne and the smaller

48 On Italian influence on the ducal library, see the old Klein Th., *Der Kampf um die zweite Reformation in Kursachsen, 1586–1591* (Cologne: 1962) 152–154; while currently the diaries of Christian II of Anhalt are edited at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (www.tagbuch-christian-ii-anhalt.de/index.php?article_id=14), one might still note that his father Christian I. as well as most of the leading councilors of what Moriz Ritter once called the party of 'Calvinist aggressors' within the Empire all had a background in Italian learning through their own travels (like Christoph Dohna and Johann Baptist Lenck) or reading. Christian I., being a client of the elector Palatinate, whose dispatches, accounts and other material remains in the LA Dessau, would deserve more thorough research on what concerns his political language as an early baroque hybrid of German with Italian transferences; the influence of *ragion-di-stato*-reading and concepts seems similar to what is better known for the enemy Maximilian I. of Bavaria, cf. in general Freitag W., Hecht M. (eds.), *Die Fürsten von Anhalt. Herrschaftssymbolik, dynastische Vernunft und politische Konzepte in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, 2nd ed. (Halle: 2009) and Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abt. Bernburg, A 9a Nr. 18ff with Christian's involvement in the French Wars of religion (1591), the conflict on the succession of Jülich-Cleve (1607–1610) but also his relationships with Italy, specially Venice Nr. 98, 99, 105, 110 and 197d (correspondence with the son during the latter's voyage to Italy), 115a, 116b, 184, 190 (Correspondence with I. Colli). Elements from his correspondence: Ritter M. (ed.), *Briefe und Akten zur Vorgeschichte des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs*, vol. 2, Nr. 12 p. 15: emperor Mathias would make an alliance with the pope and Spain 'aus ragion di stato, welche keine andere consideration annimbt als erlangung dero intents'; Pursell B.C., *The Winter King. Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: 2003) 39 n. 60; Herold H.-J., *Markgraf Joachim Ernst von Brandenburg-Ansbach als Reichsfürst* (Göttingen: 1973) 124–127, 215–217, here 259–262; Bireley R., *Maximilian von Bayern, Adam Contzen, S.J. und die Gegenreformation in Deutschland, 1624–1635* (Göttingen: 1975); Albrecht D., *Maximilian I. von Bayern (1573–1651)* (München: 1998).

49 Toftgard A., "Les langues à la cour de Danemark à la Renaissance et l'italianisme à l'époque de Christian IV (1577–1648)", in Balsamo J. – Bleuler A.K. (eds.), *Les cours comme lieux de rencontre et d'élaboration des langues vernaculaires (1480–1620)* (Geneva: 2016) 153–180. On Rantzau cf. only the bibliography Zeeberg P., *Heinrich Rantzau. A Bibliography* (Copenhagen: 2004) and the contribution by Margherita Palumbo in this volume.

centres of Central Europe, the son of a merchant, if he were to succeed to his father's business, had to understand the meaning of *banca rotta*, of *cambio*, *assicuranza* and *premio*, and the procedures of double-entry book-keeping, still deemed to some extent an 'Italian technique' at that time.⁵⁰

Targeted studies of printing workshops having a specific connection with 'migrants' or with migrant culture are still much needed. Quite often migrant printers from other countries (such as Huguenots or Dutch refugees) did not specialize in works from their native lands or communities, but, due to inter-mixing with other foreign groups in their host society, tended also to be open to importing literature from fellow migrant cultures: the Marne, Aubry, Antonis, Commelin, Chirat presses, but also those of Harnisch, Basse or Jobin in cities like Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Basel had different profiles, but all especially favoured southern and western works and/or their Latin translations, with a view to distributing them within Central Europe. The Hanau printing workshop for instance – though not run by an Italian refugee like, say, Perna in Basel – produced or reprinted many Latin versions of Italian political and historical works for the use of Northern and Eastern European universities.⁵¹ The Frankfurt book fair was central for that which was, according to Estienne, a communication hub that was incomparable to all what Italians knew.⁵² It was, in some sense, a second-hand or second-level phenomenon of migrating discourses and translations, but still of considerable importance for the overall transmission of Italian vernacular humanism in Latinized forms. In several of the contributions to this volume, this will emerge from the printing details of the works cited in the references, but it is also noted here as a broad issue.

This volume does not attempt to fill all the gaps in the fields of research mentioned above, nor have all these been flagged up. The problems and

50 Cf. as sources the merchant handbooks Hoock J. – Jeannin P., *Ars mercatoria: Handbücher und Traktate für den Gebrauch des Kaufmanns, 1470–1820* (Paderborn: 1991) vol. 1: 1470–1600 and for a recent state of research Häberlein M. (ed.), *Fremde Sprachen in frühneuzeitlichen Städten: Lernende, Lehrende und Lehrwerke* (Wiesbaden: 2010); idem (ed.), *Sprachmeister. Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte eines prekären Berufsstands* (Bamberg: 2015).

51 For more specialised bibliography cf. several contributions below, but for a first approach to the bio-bibliographies of printers and editors in German-speaking territories cf. Benzing J. – Reske C., *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: 2015).

52 'Ostendant quaeso ipsi Itali, ostendant in sua regione, non dicam quod cum nundinis istis hac in re comparari, sed quod vel cum minima illarum parte conferri possit. Aliquid certe ostentare, sed nihil ostendere poterunt.' (Estienne Henri, *Nundinarum Francofordensium encomium – Eloge de la foire de Francfort; Ein Lob auf die Frankfurter Messe; Encomium of the Frankfurt Fair*, ed. E. Kammerer et al. [Geneva: Droz, 2017] 43).

questions linked to heterodox Italians migrating to Central Europe, the individuals, groups, spheres and disciplines concerned cannot all be represented here. But each case study tries to address, from its specific point of view, the current trends in research and the authors aim overall to provide a necessarily incomplete but still useful indication of the current state of research.

The three parts of the volume concentrate on three different levels of migration and connectivity between Italy and Central Europe: first on the materiality of communication and contacts, printing, the diffusion of books and manuscripts; the second part focuses on individual migrants and figures that were important for Italo-European exchange within their various networks; finally, the third part deals with the less material aspects of migration, the cultural transfers, discourses, ideas, and traces and elements of these, migrating in one or in both directions. The volume concludes with a historiographic reflection on how, since the times of Cantimori and others, the phenomenon of migrating 'Italian heretics' has figured in national identity narratives as something of an Italian *leyenda negra*. Still: this was, and (to some extent) is, an excessively nationally focused framing of the issue, while our contributions here, and other recent European historiographical efforts, have tried to transcend this limitation. Without rehearsing here methodological discussions about cultural transfer, its postmodern follow-up theories and the question of multifold and pluriform processes of 'Europeanisation', it is clear that religious migration is an important part, even a formative part, of Europe in its modern form; and this is perhaps more usefully studied in the context of arrival than with regard to the problems that this early modern 'brain-drain' might have caused in the long run for Italy and its (proto-)national identity. More interesting are the effects of coexistence, of merging, of adaptation, of the New that is always created by the contact and the constant processes of translation from and between vernaculars, from and between Italian and Latin, from and between different cultures and styles; of religious, academic, economic and political forms of expression. This book approaches those questions more by way of individual case studies than through any attempt at synthesis or a unified methodology. This might have the disadvantage that many persons, groups, discourses, fields of practice could not each be analysed in-depth: unfortunately there is little here on Italian military architecture techniques and their transfer, on music, and on many other forms of art and academic culture that we none the less recognise to be of high importance – nor are many aspects of the practical life of migrants addressed, such as, in the case of heterodox Italian merchants who moved abroad, how they actually went about conducting their business in German or Dutch cities; one could doubtless have integrated more of this in a synthesising overview. But despite those inevitable gaps, the case-study

approach has the advantage of homing in on some important representative exemplars, and deploying them, instead of a no doubt wider-reaching but perhaps less brightly lit synthesis, as spotlight points in the vast panorama of unknown or less well-known situations and circumstances of heterodox Italian migration.

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An Interrupted Dialogue? Italy and the Protestant Book Market in the Early Seventeenth Century

Marco Cavarzere

In early modern Europe, the book trade, in its multiple forms, was one of the driving forces for establishing and widening transnational cultural relationships. Books were sold, smuggled and donated from one corner of Europe to the other with unpredictable intensity. Most of the immigrants that populate the pages of this volume were directly engaged in this traffic of books and multifarious printed material. Even the confessional divide tearing Europe apart with the outbreak of the Reformation was not able to put an end to this intense circulation of knowledge, which remained indispensable in many respects to European society. The exchanges of books that will be thoroughly discussed in the following pages were certainly an important means – often the only one left – with which the Italian immigrants *religionis causa* at the centre of this book could maintain their connections with their old friends and families. However, from a broader perspective they attested above all to the cultural and social uniformity persisting in early modern Europe beyond any confessional considerations among intellectual and political elites.

The presence of new and effective agencies of control, such as the Catholic Inquisition with its Indices of prohibited books, did not interrupt this exchange. On the contrary, it incorporated it within the everyday practice of its repressive action. As recent scholarship has shown, early modern institutions were not immutable and culturally homogeneous. They reacted to local interactions of people, cultural developments, power relationships, and integrated states of exception into their normative patterns in order to generate a new regularity of behaviour from existing conditions.¹ As a result, confessional

1 On a new history of institutions, which mingles historical and economic perspectives, see Greif A., *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy. Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: 2006) esp. 3–53. On the use of this hermeneutical approach in the field of Catholic censorship, see Cavarzere M., “The Workings of a Papal Institution. Roman Censorship and Italian Authors in the Seventeenth Century”, in Brendecke A. (ed.), *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure – Handlungen – Artefakte* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2015) 371–385.

censorship, successfully enforced during the early modern era in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Italian states, was not in complete opposition with the book exchange as such, but presented itself as a new instance of political and cultural regulation. In other words, more than exerting blind repression, censorship created social hierarchies of readers, forged cultural boundaries between genres, and imposed a political discourse on 'good' and 'bad' press.

The following pages will show, first of all, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Inquisition's ambitious plan to control book circulation between Italy and the Empire came to terms with the structural weakness of the Church apparatus and with the presence of an intricate jurisdictional context. In the second place, through the analysis of the seventeenth-century Italian book market this essay intends to demonstrate the adaptability of norms that, in the early modern era, nobody considered universally valid. In doing so, our primary purpose is to overcome the debate about the effects of censorship on early modern Italy and to interpret the political and religious differences characterizing European society of the time in the light of the institutional and social conventions which presided over the contemporary book trade.

1 Confessional Barriers: Roman Censorship

Anyone who leafs through the modern edition of the Indices of forbidden books issued by the Roman Curia during the sixteenth century will immediately realize that a great part of the proscribed authors came from the Empire. For instance, among the 61 printers condemned in the first Roman Index of 1559, only one, Francesco Brucioli, was working in Italy, while the remaining mostly stemmed from German-speaking cities like Basel, Wittenberg, and Strasbourg.² This data comes as no surprise. Although papal censorship predated the Reformation, its strengthening and development during the sixteenth century was primarily the consequence of the Protestant offensive. As time passed, however, Roman authorities became aware that their duty was not only to issue a list of German heretics. From a practical point of view, the problem was twofold. On the one hand, Rome needed to enforce the prohibitions officially published in the form of an Index; on the other, it was necessary to create solid communication channels capable of reporting the new heretical books printed in the regions under control of Protestant princes. In both cases, it was essential to tighten the relationships between Rome and the Empire.

2 *Index des livres interdits*, ed. J.M. De Bujanda, 11 vols. (Sherbrooke/Geneva: 1984–2002) VIII 786.

As soon as the 'definitive' Roman Index of 1596 was published under the aegis of Pope Clement VIII after years of long and turbulent discussions, the Papacy sent this list of proscriptions to the nuncios living in the German lands (Cologne, Vienna, and Lucerne), to the most important European universities (e.g. Leuven and Cologne), to the Bavarian court – that is, the most powerful Catholic state in the Empire – and to some other important places of the Catholic *reconquista* of Germany, like the bishopric of Würzburg, then under the rule of Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn.³ As a result of this campaign, the papal nuncio at the imperial court, Cesare Speciano, reprinted the Index in 1596 in Prague, while in the subsequent year another edition of the Index came out in Cologne. In June 1597 Speciano could proudly write to the Roman Inquisition that the Clementine Index was published 'throughout all of Germany.'⁴ At the same time, Roman authorities also granted the Imperial commissioner for the book trade the function of Apostolic commissioner, assigning him the task of controlling the enforcement of the Index and informing Rome about the books sold at the fair of Frankfurt.⁵

Yet, as soon became clear, these measures did not represent any serious attempt of imposing the Roman Index upon the multi-confessional territories of the German Empire. The nuncio of Cologne wrote in 1602 to the Congregation of the Index that he had printed the Clementine Index, but had subsequently not made any further steps to enforce it, since he had not received any additional instructions from Rome.⁶ Valentin Leucht, the book commissioner in Frankfurt from 1597 to 1619, did not seem more capable of fulfilling his duty. The most important outcome of his work was the publication of multiple editions of the Frankfurt book fair catalogues, which excluded Protestant works

3 See the letters sent on July 1596 in Vatican City, Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (henceforth ACDF), Index, v, fols. XIV–XX, and Vatican Secret Archive, Nunziature diverse 34, fol. not numbered.

4 On these new editions of the Clementine Index, see Rebellato E., *La fabbrica dei divieti. Gli Indici dei libri proibiti da Clemente VIII a Benedetto XIV* (Milan: 2008) 34–35 and 281ff. on several Roman Indices published in Cologne during the seventeenth century; for the letter of Speciano (9 June 1597), see ACDF, S.O., Stanza Storica, TT 1–a, fol. 543, and more generally Carta P., "Nunziature apostoliche e censure ecclesiastiche", in Stango C. (ed.), *Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica tra Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: 2001) 155–169.

5 On this, see Raab H., "Apostolische Bücherkommissare in Frankfurt am Main", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 87 (1967) 326–354. In general, on Frankfurt and its book trade at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Maclean I., *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion. The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge: 2012).

6 See the letter of 19 April 1602 from the nuncio Coriolano Garzadori in ACDF, Index, III/5, fol. 286.

and contained only books officially permitted by Catholic censorship. This decision was the most apparent testimony to the strategy of the Curia: not the suppression of Protestant books, which were freely exchanged in the bi-confessional city of Frankfurt, but the creation of an alternative list to be sent to Catholic countries.⁷

It was in fact clear to everybody, and above all to the Papacy, that different contexts needed different treatments. Roman Indices reveal first of all the complex polycentric nature of early modern Catholicism. Although officially issued by the Holy See, Roman Indices claimed jurisdiction on very few European areas. The Spanish and Portuguese territories obeyed the Indices published by local Inquisitions and controlled by the Crown, while France refused to recognize Roman censorship and continued to rely on the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne and on other national authorities.⁸ As consequence, despite all solemn assurances to the contrary, the Roman Index was far from being universal. It more modestly offered an instrument to exert control over the Italian book market, which the peripheral tribunals of the Roman Inquisition could more effectively monitor.

On closer inspection, however, the problem was not only jurisdictional and did not only concern the political relationships between the Curia and foreign states. Within the Curia itself, institutional uncertainties made it difficult to assert stable and unambiguous authority over book censorship. As one can easily draw from the already mentioned documents, several institutions concurred with the censorial project of the Papacy, including the Congregation of the Index, the Inquisition, as well as papal nuncios and local authorities, such as bishops, universities, and the imperial book commissioner. Between the end of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth, the Roman Inquisition took the upper hand in the management of this web of international relationships.⁹ In the archives of the Congregation of the Index, letters from nuncios and bishops slowly disappeared during the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Inquisition started to take over

7 For a brief discussion of these Catholic book catalogues see Cavarzere M., "Das alte Reich und die römische Zensur in der Frühen Neuzeit: ein Überblick", in Burkardt A. – Schwerhoff G. (eds.), *Tribunal der Barbaren? Deutschland und die Inquisition in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Constance: 2012) 322–323.

8 For the first evaluation of the European reception of the Clementine Index, see Fragnito G., "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica (sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo)", in *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe moderne. Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu* (Geneva: 2007) 51–77.

9 Frajese V., *La censura in Italia. Dall'inquisizione alla polizia* (Rome-Bari: 2014) 106–121.

the control of censorial apparatus in coordination with the Secretary of State.¹⁰ However, proper administrative centralization never occurred and different centres of Catholicism continued to exercise their own influence on the local book trade.

In the first years of the seventeenth century, the Congregation of the Index itself put forward the idea of decentralizing Roman censorship. In those years, the Congregation was pushing hard to organize a system of local bureaus charged with the expurgation and correction of books in the Italian dioceses and in the main European states.¹¹ As far as the Empire is concerned, on 20 July 1602 cardinal Simon Tagliavia d'Aragon (Cardinal Terranova), the prefect of the Congregation of the Index, sent a letter to the nuncios at the imperial court, in Graz, in Lucerne, and in Cologne.¹² In these letters the Roman cardinal ordered the nuncios to reprint the Clementine Index and to add to it a new 'particular Index' containing the books in vernacular languages published in the country in which the nuncio was carrying out his duty. In Cologne, the nuncio could appeal for help to the local university and the *Kirchenrat*, the ecclesiastical council appointed in the late sixteenth century in order to implement the introduction of the Tridentine reforms into the diocese, while in other cities nuncios could rely on the support of bishops, universities, and pious Catholic scholars.¹³ In other words, the writing of these 'national indices,' as the Roman authorities called them, was left to the nuncios' self-initiative.

The reaction to the Roman project was, to say the least, not very enthusiastic. Nuncios did not respond to the Roman query, until the Congregation of the Index repeated the same request one year later, in September 1603.¹⁴ Under these new pressures, the nuncio in the Swiss Confederation wrote that, in Lucerne, there were too few learned scholars capable of undertaking the preparation of a new local Index. Furthermore, most heretical books came

10 While the first Frankfurt book commissioner, the above mentioned Valentin Leucht, wrote letters to the Inquisition, his successor Johann Ludwig von Hagen preferred to exchange letters with the cardinals nepoti: see Becker R., "Die Berichte des kaiserlichen und apostolischen Bücherkommissars Johann Ludwig von Hagen an die römische Kurie (1623–1649)", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51 (1971) 422–465.

11 Fragnito G., "The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship", in *Church, Censorship, and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: 2001) 13–49.

12 ACDF, Index, v, fols. 165–168.

13 On the situation in Cologne, see Reinhard W., "Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in der Kölner Nuntiatur 1584–1621", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1971) 8–65.

14 ACDF, Index, VI, fols. 9–14.

from outside the nuncio's territory; consequently, the nuncio did not have any control over them.¹⁵ One of Speciano's successors at the imperial court of Prague, Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, showed more willingness to take action. However, in 1605 he was forced to admit that in Prague the printing industry in 'lingua boema' (Bohemian language) limited itself to the publication of almanacs, panegyrics, and funeral orations. Even here there was thus no room for a 'national Index' as intended by the Roman Congregation.¹⁶

The situation seemed slightly better in Cologne, where the problem was rather the opposite. In one of the most important areas for the German print industry, there was neither a shortage of learned censors nor of printers and book sellers.¹⁷ Even here, though, book censorship appeared to be a complicated matter. We have already mentioned that in 1602 the nuncio acknowledged that until then not much had been done for the enforcement of the Clementine Index. It was at the instigation of the Congregation that the nuncio decided to re-organize local censorship, first of all negotiating with the Dominican order for the appointment of a Dominican censor who could revise local books before they were printed.¹⁸ Only at the end of 1603, when the Congregation of the Index seemed resolute to carry out the project of 'national Indices,' did the nuncio of Cologne begin to discuss the idea with the *Kirchenrat* and local authorities. The issue was relevant to the Congregation of the Index, which wanted to gain a clear overview of the situation in this key region of European book trade. But, as the nuncio himself wrote to Rome, the possibilities for intervention were extremely reduced.¹⁹ On the one hand, the drafting of a new Index was a huge endeavour, which required more than one person completely devoted to the task. On the other hand, the problem was financial. Outside

15 Ibidem, Index, III/7, fol. 52 (letter of 10 October 1603).

16 Ibidem, fol. 432 (letter of 4 July 1605). The letter is not recorded in modern editions of Ferreri's nuntiature: see *Die Prager Nuntiatur des Giovanni Stefano Ferrari und die Wiener Nuntiatur des Giacomo Serra (1603–1606)*, ed. A.O. Meyer (Berlin: 1913), and *Epistolae et acta Nuntiorum Apostolicorum apud imperatorem, 1592–1628*, ed. Z. Kristen (Prague: 1944), which do not report any of the letters sent to the Congregation of the Index.

17 On the complexity of the Cologne market, see Mölich G. – Schwerhoff G. (eds.), *Köln als Kommunikationszentrum. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte* (Köln: 1999), and Zwierlein C., "Religionskriegsmigration, Französischunterricht, Kulturtransfer und die Zeitungsproduktion im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Francia* 37 (2010) 97–129.

18 Schmidt P., "Inquisition und Zensur in der Kölner Nuntiatur", in Koller A. (ed.), *Die Außenbeziehungen der römischen Kurie unter Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621)* (Tübingen: 2008) 416–17; see also ACDF, Index, III/5, fol. 287.

19 ACDF, Index, III/5, fols. 290–291 (letters of the nuncio from Cologne, 5 October 1603 and 8 May 1604).

Rome, where the office of censor was part of the Curial *cursus honorum*, the people engaged in censorship wanted to be paid.

The financial questions surrounding the activity of the Roman Inquisition have only recently started to draw attention among historians.²⁰ Beyond doubt, in the case of censorship, financial matters played a decisive role. In 1602, the members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris refused to cooperate with Rome in expurgating the books prohibited *donec corrigantur* because nobody wanted to provide any forms of payment in exchange for their work.²¹ Similarly, in Cologne, the idea of a 'national Index' failed due to the lack of proper salaries for censors. In 1604, the nuncio Coriolano Garzadori proposed that the elector-prince of Cologne assign a canonicate, deprived of any spiritual duties, to the censors involved in the preparation of the Index as compensation for their work. Yet, despite the efforts of the nuncio, who attempted to find two suitable censors, financial and political difficulties, such as the opposition of the chapter of the cathedral and the problems inherent in the creation of a canonicate, doomed the project to failure.²² Even in Italy, the establishment of diocesan Congregations of the Index seemed hindered by economic factors. As the inquisitor of Padua wrote to the Roman authorities in 1599, he was a poor Franciscan friar, who could not afford to buy on his own the books that needed expurgation.²³

The only one that seemed to take advantage of his new role as Roman censor was the imperial book commissioner. During the early modern period, the Papacy in fact regularly paid Frankfurt book commissioners 50 *scudi* per year for issuing the lists of Catholic books sold at the local book fair.²⁴ This fact is highly meaningful. The practice of paying the Frankfurt commissioners was the result of the skilful manoeuvring of Valentin Leucht at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Leucht was certainly a resourceful man, who also tried to obtain a monopoly over the printing of the Frankfurt Catholic catalogues. In a petition to the emperor on behalf of his brother-in-law, probably the printer

20 Maifreda G., *The Business of the Roman Inquisition in the Early Modern Era* (London: 2017).

21 Fragnito G., "Diplomazia pontificia e censura ecclesiastica durante il regno di Enrico IV", *Rinascimento* 42 (2002) 143–164, at 153–156, describes the papal attempts to draw subsidies from the French clergy, the printers of Paris and Lyon, and from the king himself in order to pay the censors.

22 ACDF, Index, III/5, foll. 292–293 (letters of the nuncio from Cologne, 25 September 1604).

23 *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index. Volume 1: Sixteenth-Century Documents*, eds. U. Baldini – L. Spruit (Rome: 2009) I 656.

24 See Raab, "Apostolische Bücherkommissare" 328 n. 8, and Becker, "Die Berichte des kaiserlichen und apostolischen Bücherkommissars" 461 n. 197 and 464.

of Mainz Nikolaus Stein, he asked the right to print the catalogue that he had to prepare every six months for the papal authorities. In this way he intended to grant his family a double income, adding his salary from Rome to the trade advantages derived from publishing of a work that could be sold throughout Catholic Europe.²⁵ But apart from the particular skills of a shrewd censor, it is worth noting that the Curia was willing to pay someone in order to remain informed about the publications advertised in Frankfurt, while it was much less interested in sustaining the establishment of a censorial network in the various regions of Europe. The Roman Curia seemed perfectly aware of the multi-confessional environment established in the Holy Roman Empire and of the obstacles that the too rigid enforcement of Roman norms might impose on political and social levels. It was instead essential to maintain open communication and to preserve political equilibria favourable to the Church.

2 The Adaptability of Norms

While at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Cologne and in other centres of German Catholicism people were discussing the possibility of applying the norms of Roman censorship in the Empire, in Italy pyres of books, expurgations, and other forms of book destruction had already ‘purified’ the society from many German works, and especially from the execrable texts of German heresiarchs. However, these measures did not intend to stop the interchanges between the two sides of the Alps. In the same years in which inquisitors were putting the rules of the Clementine Index into practice, it became apparent that inquisitorial norms were not valid for everyone and at every time.

The policy of reading permits, which the Congregation of the Index and that of the Inquisition immediately promoted after the issue of the Clementine Index, gives testimony to this complex situation.²⁶ These permits were official

25 On this episode, see the letter of the nuncio in Prague, dated 22 May 1606, complaining about Leucht's pretensions: *Die Prager Nuntiatur* 751–752. The Congregation of the Index upheld the claims of the nuncio against Leucht: see ACDF, Index, Diarii 2 (1597–1606), fol. 185r, meeting of 7 August 1606. On the relationship between Leucht and the Mainz book industry, see Brückner W., “Der kaiserliche Bücherkommissar Valentin Leucht. Leben und literarisches Werk”, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3 (1961) 123–127.

26 *Catholic Church and Modern Science* 111 2565–2779, and, for a later period, Frajese V., “Le licenze di lettura e la politica del Sant’Uffizio dopo l’indice clementino”, in *L’inquisizione e gli storici. Un cantiere aperto* (Rome: 2000) 179–220, and Marcus H., “Bibliography and Book Bureaucracy: Reading Licences and the Circulation of Prohibited Books in Counter-Reformation Italy”, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 110 (2016) 433–457.

licenses issued by the two congregations through which Catholic faithful were allowed to read prohibited books. From a historical standpoint, however, they were no novelty. They existed well before the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index claimed control over them. In the Middle Ages reading permits were granted by bishops, local inquisitors, religious orders and the Apostolic Penitentiary, institutions which in fact continued to release them during the early modern period. Yet, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the congregations of the Index and the Inquisition started to extensively use these extraordinary measures with the goal of conciliating ideological imperatives with practical purposes. While Roman authorities were discussing and publishing the Index and its severe rules, licenses became the ordinary tool used by Catholic jurists, physicians and ecclesiastics in order to overcome the rigid confessional barriers that Roman censorship was attempting to establish between Italy and the Empire. Although licenses were often granted to aristocrats and royal families merely as a sign of social distinction, in most cases they served to give early modern Catholic scholars the chance to read, own, and discuss scientific books that Roman authorities had forbidden for theological and political reasons.

This was the case with the law books that the Roman Curia had hastened to prohibit because of their stances in favour of state intervention in religious matters, but that otherwise offered up-to-date discussions of legal matters and customs.²⁷ In the early modern pan-European system of law, still based on Roman legislation, legal discourse could hardly be confined within confessional borders. This was particularly evident in the Italian Peninsula, where several feudal lordships and states still claimed their subordination to the Empire. In such a multifaceted context, it was impossible to simply get rid of German Protestant law books, which often dealt with imperial law. Quite understandably, similar problems concomitantly emerged in the scientific domain. How could Italian physicians refuse to read publications coming from Protestant countries? Or how could astronomers avoid taking into consideration scientific works written by heretics such as Sebastian Münster and Hermann Wilken?²⁸ In other words, reading permits paved the way to the implicit subversion of the norm, whose rigidity and apodictic character *de facto* entailed

27 Savelli R., "The Censoring of Law Books", in *Church, Censorship, and Culture* 223–253, and more thoroughly idem, *Censori e giuristi. Storie di libri, di idee e di costumi (XVI–XVII secolo)* (Milan: 2011).

28 On the problems faced by Catholic physicians, see Marcus H., *The Utility of Prohibited Knowledge: Medicine, Readers, and Censors in Early Modern Italy, 1500–1664*, Ph.D. dissertation (Stanford University: 2016).

its own inefficacy. The presence of a vivid, albeit restricted, book market between Italy and the Protestant regions of the Empire offered an effective countercheck to this regime of regulated exception.

Throughout the early modern era, it is possible to discern a solid, uninterrupted chain of book exchanges between Frankfurt and Venice, which were the two most important book centres of the time. These trade channels cannot be simplistically described as clandestine and illegal. Certainly, the underground book trade was well established between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several inquisitorial sources inform us about the flourishing illegal markets that used the main corridors of the Alpine valleys, such as the Grisons, the Brenner pass, and Tarvisio, in order to smuggle German prohibited books into Italy.²⁹ Furthermore, some particular cases attest how Venetian ecclesiastical authorities reacted harshly to these forms of unlawful exchange. In 1588, Pietro Longo, an active smuggler of Protestant books from Frankfurt to Venice, and a well-known Protestant himself, was put to death by the Holy Office because of his faith and his role as cultural mediator between Venice and the Protestants. But, as Paul Grendler noticed, 'so far as can be determined, the Inquisition did not punish other booksellers for smuggling at this time.'³⁰ The business relationships between Venice and Frankfurt were public and, although suspicious, rarely officially proscribed.

Evidence that Venetian authorities accepted or, at least, widely tolerated the transalpine book trade lies in the publication of book catalogues that informed Italian readers about books coming from Frankfurt. Book catalogues were ephemeral works, printed for practical reasons; therefore, only very few of them are still preserved today. It is thus even more striking to find in some Italian libraries several book catalogues listing the works that Venetian booksellers had bought at the Frankfurt fair in order to make them available to the Italian market. These catalogues show an interesting evolution in the relationships between Roman censorship and the German-Italian book trade during the seventeenth century.

The first two book catalogues that we would like to present date back to 1602 and were published by famous Venetian merchants of German books:

29 See, for instance, Cavazza S., "Inquisizione e libri proibiti in Friuli e a Gorizia tra Cinquecento e Seicento", *Studi goriziani* 43 (1976) 29–80, and *Innerösterreich betreffende Quellen aus den Inquisitionsarchiven in Rom und Udine* (Graz: 2004).

30 On the Longo's case, see Grendler P.F., *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: 1977) 186–189, here 189. Longo was in contact with Pietro Perna, another bookseller who promoted exchanges between Venice and Frankfurt in the second half of the sixteenth century: see Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002).

the Siena-born publisher Giovan Battista Ciotti, and Paolo Sarpi's bookseller Roberto Meietti. Historians have already unearthed the close relationships of these two booksellers with the Frankfurt book fair and with the German book market.³¹ Ciotti was not only a mediator of books and information between the Empire and Italian customers, but also financed the publication of several books in Frankfurt. As for Meietti, he established relationships with Calvinist princes such as the Count of Hanau, Philipp Ludwig II, and attended at the Frankfurt book fair for years. Both Ciotti and Meietti had problems with the Holy Office. The Inquisition questioned Meietti on several occasions for his illegal activities, until he was officially excommunicated in 1606 in the context of harsh confrontation between Venice and Rome following the papal interdict of that year. Ciotti arose no fewer suspicions. He was infamously the contact between Giordano Bruno and his Venetian patron Giovanni Mocenigo and, in 1599, he was accused with Meietti and another Siena-born Venetian publisher, Francesco de' Franceschi, of having brought some German Protestant books into the Republic of Venice.

In the light of this information, we would probably expect to discover that the 1602 Frankfurt book catalogues issued by Meietti and Ciotti were replete with Protestant and heretical works. This was not the case. The two catalogues, which to some extent offered the same books, presented various writings of Catholic theology, medicine, and law produced for a professional learned public.³² Almost all works listed in these catalogues were in Latin, with vernacular books forming only a small proportion of the whole collection. The catalogues moreover contain the works of some Protestant authors, such as the Calvinist philologist Joseph Scaliger and the prominent political thinker Alberico Gentili. But by 1602 the Catholic Church had still not officially prohibited their books. It is more interesting to notice that, in a catalogue that presented many works about medicine, Meietti and Ciotti decided to include several works of astrology and natural magic that the Church had expressly prohibited, such as

31 On Ciotti, Rhodes D.E., *Giovanni Battista Ciotti (1562–1627): Publisher Extraordinary at Venice* (Venice: 2013). On Meietti, Grendler P.F., "Books for Sarpi: the Smuggling of Prohibited Books into Venice during the Interdict of 1606–1607", in Bertelli S. – Ramakus G. (eds.), *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence: 1978) 1 105–114, and Mario Infelise, *I padroni dei libri. Il controllo della stampa nella prima età moderna* (Rome-Bari: 2014) 79–85. For a specific example of Meietti's production, see the contribution by Margherita Palumbo in this volume.

32 The two catalogues are edited and discussed in Valentina Sonzini, "Il catalogo editoriale 1602 di Ciotti. Analisi e confronto con il coevo catalogo di Meietti", *Bibliothecae.it* 5 (2016) 259–336; on Meietti's catalogue, see specifically Rhodes D.E., "Spanish Books on Sale in the Venetian Bookshop of G.B. Ciotti. 1602", *The Library* 12 (2011) 50–55.

works by the medieval physician Arnau de Vilanova and the Neapolitan philosopher Giovan Battista Della Porta, as well as texts by preeminent representatives of Italian Neoplatonism, such as Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi.

The selection of prohibited works was however limited to books that many Italian physicians could reasonably own thanks to their reading permits. The remaining books sold by Meietti and Ciotti were collections of legal texts, other less controversial books of medicine, treatises of classic philology, and biblical commentaries or other theological works. The Congregation of the Index was immediately informed about the publication of Meietti's catalogue due to its potential threat and proposed opening a judicial case against him.³³ Probably political considerations induced the cardinals to overlook the proposal in order to avoid further tensions with the Venetian Republic; it is however also possible that Roman censors soon realized that the catalogue mirrored only a small portion of the clandestine exchanges that Meietti was establishing with the Frankfurt book fair. In any case, Ciotti's contemporaneous catalogue, which contained the same dangerous titles, never came to the attention of the Congregation of the Index.

The catalogues printed in Venice by the publishing company Combi-La Nou and by the bookseller Giovanni Giacomo Hertz in the second half of the seventeenth century seem much more dangerous than the ones printed by Meietti and Ciotti fifty years earlier.³⁴ Between the 1650s and 1680s, these two Venetian bookshops published several catalogues of books that they had bought at the Frankfurt fair for the Venetian market. In these catalogues one could find the most wanted books of the time: the works by Machiavelli; the Latin version of the heliocentric work *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* by Galileo; Jansenius' *Augustinus*, namely the founding work of Jansenism; the letters of the heresiarch Melancthon; the works of Protestant jurists such as Arnisaeus, Rittershausen, Treutler, and the like; and many other proscribed works. What had happened between 1602 and the 1650s?

The divergence between the catalogues printed at the beginning of the seventeenth century and these later ones appears however to be more imagined than real. The thread that unified Meietti and Ciotti's catalogues with Combi-Lanou and Hertz's ones consists in the persistent and abundant flow of books that continued to openly circulate between Venice and Frankfurt during the seventeenth century. The typology of these booklets was similar. Exactly like

33 ACDF, Index, Diari II (1597–1606), fol. 155v (2 August 1602) and fol. 164r (15 March 1603).

34 See Cavarzere M., "Commercio librario e lettori nel Seicento italiano. I cataloghi di vendita", *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 9 (2012) 363–384; on Hertz's catalogues see also Dooley B., *Science, Politics, and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy: the 'Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia' and Its World* (New York: 1991) 50–54.

the 1602 Venetian catalogues, Combi-Lanou and Hertz's catalogues also addressed a public of professionals and mostly advertised learned books of law and medicine in Latin sold at the Frankfurt fair. Combi-Lanou decided to gather their vernacular books in their 'normal' catalogues of book sale, which did not contain the volumes imported from Frankfurt, while Hertz gave separate note of vernacular literature in the same catalogue but under different subdivisions. The bluntness with which Combi-Lanou and Hertz could list condemned works without raising much noise was instead due to the different contexts in which these catalogues were published.

When the two 1602 catalogues appeared, Meietti and Ciotti were engaging in a dangerous business at a moment in which the Catholic Church was testing its own possibilities of influencing the European book trade. Both publishers were under strict surveillance of the Inquisition, which in previous years had already punished them for smuggling prohibited books. It was thus quite understandable that they did not want to draw too much attention from the authorities. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Venetian censorship not only seemed much less fierce, but also the Italian situation had radically changed: the Indices had become everyday normality and doctrinal heterodoxy appeared a far less urgent problem.

Neither Meietti and Ciotti nor Combi-Lanou and Hertz probably had direct religious interests. Ciotti was not only Bruno's friend, but also a faithful servant of the harbinger of the German Counterreformation: the prince-bishop of Würzburg von Mespelbrunn. Oddly enough, while in March 1599 Ciotti was writing warm words of deference toward von Mespelbrunn, the Venetian Inquisition sent him to prison for his trade in Protestant books.³⁵ As this example makes clear, Ciotti was not much interested in the religious contents of his goods, but in the profit that they could grant him. This position was shared among most booksellers of the time; the great difference was that the early seventeenth-century public still appeared to be fascinated by the heterodox messages coming from the other side of the Alps, while in the second half of the century the confessional debates left room for other forms of heterodoxies. While Hertz and Combi-Lanou were officially advertising Machiavelli and Jansenius, they illegally sold books of magic, which instead represented the heart of the irreligious beliefs spread in early modern Venice.³⁶ In a paradoxical

35 See the dedication letter written by Ciotti in honour of von Mespelbrunn in Bellarmino Roberto, *De indulgentiis et iubeo libri duo* (Cologne, Antonius Hierat: 1599) †2–†3.

36 Barbierato F., "Giovanni Giacomo Hertz. Editoria e commercio librario a Venezia nel secondo '600", *La bibliofilia* 107 (2005) 159 and 286–287, and idem, *Nella stanza dei circoli. 'Clavicula Salomonis' e libri di magia a Venezia nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Milan: 2002) 187.

way, in the second half of the seventeenth century the Protestant books printed in the Protestant North constituted a minor danger for Italian society.

3 Elitist Exchanges

The presence of these lively trade relationships between Venice and Frankfurt was to some extent a prerequisite for the issuing of reading permits. Those who received the license of reading forbidden books apparently had easy access to works which should not have been available to them. There were certainly different ways to receive and trade books from Protestant and Catholic regions. For instance, travelling students or simply the normal exchanges between the Republic of Letters made books and information available beyond the confessional divide. Yet, booksellers like Ciotti, Meietti, Combi-Lanou, and Hertz played a significant role in leaving open channels of communication which did not ensure any form of unconditional freedom, but created spaces of regulated exchange. After all, the actual addressees of these catalogues were members of a restricted elite, which actively supported the system of censorship.

It is not always easy to follow the circulation of the books coming from Frankfurt through the mediation of the Venetian merchants.³⁷ A well-documented example can shed light on the case. One of the main customers of Combi-Lanou and Hertz was the librarian of the Medici princes and book collector on his own, Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714).³⁸ In his library, today preserved in the National Library of Florence, we can find all the book catalogues of these booksellers as well as many German and Protestant books that they had sold him. The presence of prohibited books in Magliabechi's collection is not striking. Magliabechi represented a very special case. As one of the leading figures of Italian culture and the librarian of the Medici, he clearly possessed extensive reading permits. The problem was however that Magliabechi did not only purchase prohibited books for himself or for his princely patrons, but he was also the central point of a web of contacts on the local and national scale. Through Magliabechi, many learned scholars had access to forbidden literature from the Empire. For instance, the secretary of the Florentine Academy of the Crusca, Carlo Dati, received from Magliabechi Hugo Grotius'

37 The only research made on the topic regards the relationships between the Combi-Lanou and the librarian of the Vatican Library Lucas Holsten: see Rietbergen P.J.A.N., *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: 2006) 277–293.

38 Callard C., "Diogène au service des princes: Antonio Magliabechi à la cour de Toscane (1633–1714)", *Histoire, économie et société* 19 (2000) 85–103.

books, the *Francogallia* by the Huguenot François Hotman, and treatises by the German jurist Hermann Conring. Through the same channel, the preceptor of the Grand Duke's son Bernardo Benvenuti, prior of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Felicita in Florence, obtained the works of the Calvinist Vossius and Descartes' *De homine*.³⁹ In this way books coming from the German territories could reach Italian readers without major constraints.

It is however worth noting that this reading society was still restrained to a group of people close to the court and to political power. Carlo Dati and Bernardo Benvenuti were not dangerous or subversive men, but members of the Florentine intelligentsia, whose loyalty to the prince and the Church was beyond doubt. Further examples could be named from other contexts, such as the Roman one, where German scholars living in the eternal city served as liaison between the German book market and Italian learned and orthodox circuits.⁴⁰ All these examples show that transactions between Italian and German book markets continued throughout the whole early modern period thanks to the establishment of a strictly regulated system, which balanced ideological declarations with a wide spectrum of exceptions and de facto situations. Behind the scenes it was however the social and cultural consistency of political elites that lay the foundations for such an effective system.

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Books on the Run: The Case of Francesco Patrizi

Margherita Palumbo

The last sixteenth-century *Index librorum prohibitorum* issued by the Roman censors was published in 1596, during the pontificate of Clement VIII.¹ The *Index* contains a lengthy list of authors, mostly originating from those lands deemed infected and definitively corrupted by the Lutheran plague. The *Index* does, however, also contain several Italian names, especially in the realm of philosophy, represented by, among others, Marcello Palingenio Stellato, Pietro Pomponazzi, Francesco Zorzi, Bernardino Telesio, Girolamo Cardano, Francesco Pucci, and Francesco Patrizi.² Seven years later, in 1603, the Master of the Sacred Palace Giovanni Maria Guanzelli issued a prohibitory decree containing fifty-five new condemnations, including the entire work by Giordano Bruno and Tommaso Campanella.³

If all these philosophers were thus involved with the Roman Inquisition – either during their lifetime, or posthumously, as in the case of Palingenio Stellato, Pomponazzi, or Francesco Zorzi –, not all were actual ‘migrants’: the Calabrian Telesio spent almost his entire life in Naples; the peregrination of the Milanese Cardano was limited to Italy. A rather different path marks the lives of Bruno, Pucci, and Campanella. The restless Bruno spent several years wandering between Geneva, Paris, London, Prague, and several German cities, before coming back to Italy, and being imprisoned in Venice, and later in Rome where he was burned at the stake at Campo de’ Fiori in 1600. Pucci died in the prisons of the Roman Holy Office, after having fled to England, and briefly to

1 *Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos [...] nunc demum S.D.N. Clementis PP. VIII. iussu, recognitus, & publicatus* (Rome, Stamperia Camerale: 1596); reprint Bujanda J.M. de (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*, vol. 9, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596* (Sherbrooke-Geneva: 1994) 913–977.

2 For the sixteenth-century censorial cases related to Italian philosophers cf. Baldini U. – Spruit L. (eds.), *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index*. Vol. 1. *Sixteenth-Century Documents* (Rome: 2009); Ricci S., *Inquisitori, censori, filosofi sullo scenario della Controriforma* (Rome: 2008); Idem, *Davanti al Santo Uffizio. Filosofi sotto processo* (Viterbo: 2009).

3 On this 1603 decree issued by the Master of the Sacred Palace see Bujanda J.M. de – Canone E., “L’editto di proibizione delle opere di Bruno e Campanella. Un’analisi bibliografica”, *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 8 (2002) 451–479.

Germany; Campanella rotted for years in a horrible 'fossa' in the Neapolitan Castel Sant'Elmo, and was subsequently pardoned by the Inquisition, before ultimately fleeing to Paris in 1634.

In this panorama of various destinies, multifarious paths, and mutual transfers, I will focus on one case: the circulation in Germany of the work of Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), the dissemination of his ideas, and his radical critique of Aristotle, a philosopher 'opposed in all aspects to the Christian doctrine and faith.'⁴ As is well known, Patrizi's philosophy, and especially his crucial notion of *prisca philosophia* or *theologia*, had notable influence in seventeenth-century England,⁵ while a French 'appropriation' can be traced in the *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus Aristoteleos*, published by Pierre Gassendi in 1624, a work which enjoyed great popularity, 'even if (or perhaps because) the work itself was mainly a reorganized compendium of Patrizi.'⁶ In Germany, the reception of Patrizi – the philosopher who had chosen 'la via di Platone',⁷ the path marked out by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, – is more complex, and problematic, replete with conflicting issues and discrepant fortunes. There, the teaching of philosophy was prominently based on the *corpus aristotelicum*, as attested to by the extraordinary diffusion in Germany of Giacomo Zabarella, among other Paduan Aristotelians.⁸ In this context, Patrizi appears as the destroyer of a perfect image, which the Peripatetic tradition had bestowed upon Aristotle and his works.

4 Patrizi to Baccio Valori, Ferrara, 20 November 1589, in Patrizi F., *Lettere ed opuscoli inediti*, ed. A. Aguzzi Barbagli (Florence: 1975) 69.

5 On Patrizi's popularity in England cf. Levitin D., *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science. Histories of Philosophy in England, c. 1640–1700* (Cambridge: 2015); cf. also Assmann J., "Hen kai pan. Ralph Cudworth und die Rehabilitierung der hermetischen Tradition", in Neugebauer-Wölk M. (ed.), *Aufklärung und Esoterik* (Hamburg: 1999) 38–52.

6 Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom* 237. Cf. Gassendi Pierre, *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus Aristoteleos libri septem. In quibus praecipua totius Peripateticae doctrinae fundamenta excutuntur* (Gratianopoli [i.e. Amsterdam], Petrus Verderius: 1624). On Gassendi's use of Patrizi's ideas cf. Muccillo M., "La concezione dello spazio di Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597) e la sua fortuna nell'ambito della reazione anticartesiana inglese", in Borghero C. – Buccolini C. (eds.), *Dal cartesianesimo all'illuminismo radicale* (Florence: 2010) 49–71.

7 Patrizi to Baccio Valori, Ferrara, 12 January 1587, in Patrizi, *Lettere* 42.

8 Cf. Kuhn H.C., "Chartaceous Presence, Material Impact: Works by Paduan Aristotelians in German Libraries", in Piaia G. (ed.), *La presenza dell'Aristotelismo padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità* (Padua: 2002) 83–122; and Maclean I., "Mediation of Zabarella in Northern Germany, 1586–1623", *ibidem* 173–198.

1 *The Discussiones peripateticae and the Thesaurus sapientiae*

Despite a quite adventurous existence in constant search of a stable appointment, Francesco Patrizi never moved to Germany, apart from a youthful stay in Ingolstadt in 1544/45. He lived mainly in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, and Rome, travelling through such Mediterranean countries as Cyprus and Spain for his commercial or political enterprises. The dissemination of his ideas thus uniquely relied upon the transalpine circulation of books printed in various Italian cities, the publishing initiatives of printers in German-speaking areas, the operations of the Frankfurt book fair, and the *Natio Germanica* at the University of Padua, which represents a crucial point of exchange of people, books, and ideas.

Patrizi's name first made its appearance on the German market in 1570, through a translation into Latin – made by Johann Nicolaus Stupanus – of his dialogues *Della Historia* (*Ten Dialogues on History*), which first appeared in Venice in 1560, and were published in Basel by Heinrich Petri.⁹ The Latin edition of 1570 was exhibited for sale at the Spring fair in Frankfurt,¹⁰ and 'the well-informed local communities of exiles' encouraged the further dissemination of Patrizi's *ars historica*.¹¹ The *Messkataloge* attest to the subsequent presence at the 1572 *Nundinae Vernaes* of another of Patrizi's works, the first edition of his

9 Patrizi Francesco, *De legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione, dialogi decem: ex Italico in Latinum sermonem conversi. Io. Nic. Stupano [...]* (Basel, Heinrich Petri: 1570). Stupanus's translation was later included in the collection *Artis historicae penus Octodecim Scriptorum tam veterum quam recentiorum monumentis & inter eos Io. praecipue Bodini libris Methodi historicae sex instructa*, edited by the hebraist Johann Wolf (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1579).

10 *Catalogus novus a Nundinis Autumnalibus proxime elapsis usque ad has praesentes nundinas quadragesimales anni [...]* Francoforti ad Moenum, Anno M.D.LXX. (Frankfurt a.M., Georg Rab i.e. Corvinus: 1570; reprint Fabian B. (ed.), *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers*. Vol. 1. (Hildesheim: 1972) 278: 'Francisci Patritij de legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione, dialogi decem, ex Italico in Latinum sermone conversi, a Ioan. Nicolao Stupano, octavo. Basileae, per Xystum HenricPetri'. On the role played by the Frankfurt book fair in the circulation of foreign literature across northern Europe, cf. Flood J.L., "Omnium totius orbis emporium compendium": The Frankfurt Fair in the Early Modern Period", in Myers R. – Harris M. – Mandelbrote G. (eds.), *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (New Castle – London: 2007) 1–42; Weidhaas P., *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair* (Toronto: 2007).

11 Cf. Grafton A., *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 141. Grafton refers to Jacopo Aconcio's praise of Patrizi – 'Acumen est incredibile, iudicium politissimum' – in *Ad Ioannem Wolfium Tigurinum epistola de ratione edendorum librorum* (Chemnitz, Karl Gottlieb Hofmann: 1791) fol. lv–lvi.

Discussiones peripateticae (*Peripatetic Discussions*), printed in Venice in 1571.¹² This was a small quarto volume in which Patrizi outlined his plan for restoring the ancient wisdom developed in Chaldea and Egypt, the remotest and, for that reason, most authoritative philosophy professed by Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, and other hermetic writers.

However, the second and significantly enlarged edition of the *Discussiones peripateticae* is by far more relevant. The folio volume was printed in Basel in 1581 by the exiled Pietro Perna¹³ – who had published Ficino's translation of Plotin in 1559. Perna had done so upon the advice of Girolamo Mercuriale and Theodor Zwinger, with whom Patrizi had become acquainted in Padua, pointing up the fundamental role of the University of Padua in the intellectual exchange across northern countries.¹⁴ The Basel *Discussionum peripateticarum Tomi IV* are supplemented with a history of the Aristotelian tradition, in which Patrizi demonstrated its reliance upon an earlier and allegedly more unadulterated philosophy, the *prisca sapientia*, embodied by the elusive figures of Zoroaster, Orpheus, and Hermes Trismegistus, glimpsing at the background of the challenge for the 'destruction of a philosophy too time dominant, and which would purge from human knowledge a two-thousand-year old error'.¹⁵ According to this reading, the Stagirite is a mere plagiarist of this earlier and true philosophical tradition, one which he had deformed in order to establish his own hegemony. Indeed, the Aristotelian worldview does not exist, and

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- 12 Patrizi Francesco, *Discussionum Peripateticarum Tomi primi, libri XIII* (Venice, Domenico De Franceschi: 1571); and the entry 'Francisci Patritij discussionum peripateticarum Tomi primi Libr. XIII. quarto Venetijs [1571]', in *Catalogus novus ex Nundinis Vernalibus Francoforti ad Moenum, Anno M.D.LXXII. celebratis* (Frankfurt a.M., Martin Lechler: 1572), reprint *Die Messkataloge* 425.
 - 13 Patrizi Francesco, *Discussionum peripateticarum Tomi IV. Quibus Aristotelicae philosophiae universa historia atque dogmata cum veterum Platonis collata, eleganter & erudite declarantur* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1581). On Perna's relevant role in the dissemination of Italian philosophy cf. Rotondò A., "Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religiosa di Basilea fra il 1570 e il 1580", in idem, *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Turin: 1974; Florence: 2008²) vol. 2, 479–576; Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002).
 - 14 Mercuriale had taught medicine in Padua between 1569 and 1586, whereas Zwinger had graduated in that Studium in 1559. Details on this publication in Patrizi's letter to Mercuriale, Ferrara, 9 February 1580 (in Patrizi, *Lettere* 25–26), and Perna's letter to Zwinger, Basel, 31 March 1580 (in Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* 302).
 - 15 Vasoli C., *Francesco Patrizi da Cherso* (Rome: 1989) 216, on Patrizi's challenge 'per la distruzione di una filosofia troppo a lungo egemone, che dovrebbe liberare la conoscenza umana da un errore di due millenni.'

its entire *fabrica* is destined to fade away, like Atlantes' palace imagined by Ludovico Ariosto in his *Orlando Furioso*.¹⁶

Further, Patrizi here declared his intention to publish a *Thesaurussapientiae*,¹⁷ a vast treasure trove of ancient wisdom that foreshadowed Christian truth: pagan sources, obviously, but those which are indeed closer to the Christian tradition than the 'impious' Aristotle, and his followers.

Although the *Discussiones peripateticae* had passed right through the broad net of Roman censorship, the work was in a certain way still deemed suspicious, as a book printed by that Pietro Perna, once a Dominican friar, but then 'he took off his religious clothes, and fled to Germany, where [...] he began to print books [...] also written by Heretics [...] and other most ruinous books'.¹⁸ Even if not officially condemned as one of those 'most ruinous books', the *Discussiones peripateticae* had still been entered onto a list of books sent to Italy from Basel, and confiscated in the summer of 1581 by Stefano Guaraldi, Inquisitor of Como.¹⁹ Patrizi may have been aware of this climate, as the correspondence testifies to his efforts to publish his announced *Thesaurus sapientiae* outside of Italy. On 30 March 1585, he wrote of this purpose to Matteo Sonner, ambassador of Alfonso II d'Este at the court of Munich, hoping that the 'Serenissimo Signor Duca Guglielmo [i.e. duke Wilhelm IV, of Bavaria]' would patronize the printing of the volume.²⁰ A favourable response never came. A second attempt was made in Basel in about 1588 – through the

16 Patrizi, *Discussionum peripateticarum*, tom. IV, lib. V, 428. The use in the *Discussiones peripateticae* of an image taken from the *Orlando Furioso* immediately remembered the serene, and quite peaceful period which Patrizi spent, between 1577 and 1592, at the Estense court of Duke Alfonso II as a professor of Platonic philosophy.

17 See Patrizi, *Discussionum peripateticarum*, tom. III, lib. I, 292.

18 Baldini – Spruit (eds.), *Catholic Church and Modern Science*, doc. 2, 687–688: 'Stefano Guaraldi, Copies of Acts of the Inquisition in Como concerning Girolamo Donzellini and Pietro Perna' (Como, summer 1581), with reference to Perna, who 'stracio lo vestimenti de Religioso, et scampò in Germania, dove [...] si mise a far l'arte de libri [...] etiam di Heretici [...] et altri pessimi libri'. The case is related to the physician from Brescia Girolamo Donzellini, who was executed in 1587 for having traded forbidden books. Cf. already Perini, *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* 245.

19 Baldini – Spruit (eds.), *Catholic Church and Modern Science*, doc. 4, 691: 'List of Confiscated Books and a Declaration by Stefano Guaraldi, inquisitor of Como, and Luys de Requesens, Governor of Milan': 'Francischi Patricij Discussionum Peripateticarum libri. Basileae apud Petrum Pernam 1581', among other philosophical and medical works.

20 Patrizi, *Lettere* 40. On this letter cf. Solmi E., "Nuove ricerche su Francesco Patrizi", *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi* 5 (1913) 101–146.

physician Sigismund Schnitzer – and ended once more in failure.²¹ Patrizi had appended to the letter to Schnitzer a detailed table of his *Thesaurus sapientiae*, the content of which had been however narrowed in comparison with his initial, and more ambitious project. A third and last attempt was likewise unsuccessful. Patrizi tried to publish not only the *Thesaurus*, but also his major work, the *Nova de universis philosophia* (*The New Universal Philosophy*), through the press run by Johann Wechel, this latter being well known for his international outlook, having published numerous works from abroad.²² This final attempt is known through a letter written on 20 March 1590 to Johann Hartmann Beyer.²³ Beyer was a physician then active in Frankfurt; he had travelled in Italy and encountered Patrizi personally in Ferrara or Venice. The letter contains an index of the *Thesaurus sapientiae* to be forwarded to Wechel and further asks that Beyer discuss the financial details of the publication with the printer. The volume would obviously be dedicated to the ‘excellent and dear friend’ Beyer.

2 The *Nova de universis philosophia*: Censorship and Clandestine Circulation

The 1590 letter to Beyer is the only known document indicating Patrizi’s efforts to publish his *Nova de universis philosophia* in Germany. We do not know why the plan for a Frankfurt edition was abandoned. Instead, the work appeared in Ferrara in 1591, issued from the printing press run by Benedetto Mammarelli.²⁴ The *Nova de universis philosophia* is divided into five parts. The volume opens

21 Patrizi, *Lettere* 61–62. The letter was written from Ferrara on 23 May 1588. On this letter cf. Purnell F. Jr., “An Addition to Francesco Patrizi’s Correspondence” 142, “The Assyrians and Brahmins have been banished, while Moses occupies a position of parity with Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus as one of the three giants of non-Greek wisdom [...] But even in this modified form the *Thesaurus* was evidently too formidable a work to attracts a sponsor. Patrizi’s connections in Basel could not provide the backing he sought and the project fell through once again’.

22 On Johann Wechel (ca. 1549–1593) and the role played by his printing house in the widespread of Neoplatonician and Hermetic books see Evans R.J.W., *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627* (Oxford: 1975); Matthäus M., “Der Frankfurter Drucker Johann Wechel”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 84 (2009) 169–183.

23 Cf. Purnell F. Jr., “An Addition to Francesco Patrizi’s Correspondence”, *Rinascimento* s. 2, 18 (1978) 135–149.

24 Patrizi Francesco, *Nova de universis philosophia in qua Aristotelica methodo non per motum, sed per lucem, & lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur* (Ferrara, Benedetto Mammarelli: 1591).

with a general dedicatory epistle to Gregory XIV, whereas its internal sections, each of which is introduced by its own title page, are addressed to various influential cardinals – Paolo Camillo Sfondrati, Vincenzo Lauro, Scipione Gonzaga, Agostino Valier, Ippolito Aldobrandini, Scipione Lancellotti, and Federico Borromeo – an attempt to implicate them in his plan to restore a philosophy more consonant with the Catholic faith and gain their protection. The first four parts of the work – entitled *Panaugia*, *Panarchia*, *Pampsychia*, and *Pancosmia* (*All-Splendor*, *All Principles*, *All-Soul*, *All-Cosmos*) – present Patrizi's novel system of the universe. The fifth and last section contains a collection of Hermetic writings, i.e. the *Thesaurus sapientiae* whose content had been assembled during a life along work of reading and digestion, however significantly reduced in comparison with previous sketches, maybe owing to the fear of ecclesiastical censorship.²⁵ Here, the *Thesaurus* includes, among others, the *oracula* traditionally attributed to Zoroaster; the Latin *Asclepius*, the Greek text of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and the fragments entitled *Mystica Aegyptiorum et Caldaeorum a Platone voce tradita*.²⁶ Further, the *Thesaurus* contains Patrizi's original works on Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus, in which the philosopher deals with their historicity and, accordingly, the authenticity of *Hermetica*.

At the beginning of 1592 Patrizi moved to Rome, where a new chair in Platonic philosophy had been instituted at the Sapienza. Although his lectures in the papal city had enjoyed wide resonance,²⁷ and, most importantly, he was recognized as a protégé of Clement VIII, the *Nova de universis philosophia* was denounced at the end of 1592 before the Congregation of the Index.²⁸

25 On the structure of Patrizi's work see Brickman B., *An Introduction to F. Patrizi Nova de universis philosophia* (New York: 1941); Puliafito Bleuel A.L. (ed.), *Nova de universis philosophia. Materiali per una edizione emendata* (Florence: 1993).

26 The Greek texts are supplemented with a facing translation into Latin. Patrizi's edition is relied upon manuscripts he had collected. See on this point Muccillo M., "La biblioteca greca di F. Patrizi", in Canone E. (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae* (Florence: 1993) 73–118.

27 On the institution of the professorship for Platonic philosophy in Rome see Schmitt Ch. B., "L'introduction de la philosophie platonicienne dans l'enseignement des universités à la Renaissance", in *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance. XVI^e Colloque international de Tours* (Paris: 1976) 93–104; Muccillo M., "Il platonismo all'Università di Roma", in *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattro al Seicento* (Rome: 1992) 200–247.

28 On Patrizi's censorial case see Firpo L., "Filosofia italiana e Controriforma. II. La condanna di F. Patrizi", *Rivista di Filosofia* 41 (1950) 159–173; Gregory T., "L'Apologia e le Declarationes di F. Patrizi", in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence: 1955) 385–424; Rotondò A., "Cultura umanistica e difficoltà di censori. Censura ecclesiastica e discussioni cinquecentesche sul Platonismo", in *Le pouvoir et la plume. Incitation, contrôle et répression dans l'Italie du XVI^e siècle. Actes du Colloque international [...]*

Patrizi's use and praise of Hermetic philosophy represent the central point of all *censurae* written against the *Nova*, and several propositions were judged rash. Patrizi – the 'auctor secutus Zoroastrum,' i.e. a follower of Zoroaster, as the censor Benedetto Giustiniani stated in 1593²⁹ – attempted to defend his work, and to this end wrote various impassioned memoirs. All his efforts were however unsuccessful. The work was definitively condemned on 2 July 1594, and two years later it was added – with the clause 'until corrected by the author, and printed in Rome with approval of the Master of the Sacred Palace' – to the *Index* issued on behalf of the reigning Pope Clement VIII. This must have been at least somewhat biting, because, as Ippolito Aldobrandini, the future pope had been one of Patrizi's closest friends in Padua, and one of the dedicatees chosen by Patrizi for his *Nova*.

After the condemnation in 1594, all printed copies of the *Nova de universis philosophia* were to be handed over to the Master of the Sacred Palace. The measure was aimed at preventing the circulation of Patrizi's work but failed to be entirely effective. In fact, by 1591 the Ferrarese edition had already been exhibited at the Frankfurt fair,³⁰ a circumstance which partially explains the seven copies of the 1591 publication found among German institutional libraries.³¹ Further, before he fled, Mammarelli had tried to save whatever he could, and proceeded to sell the copies still in stock to Roberto Meietti, a member of a publishing family, who had been active in various cities in the Veneto region. Meietti had moved to Venice in 1588, and had frequently clashed with the Inquisition, owing to his importation of forbidden books and audacious publishing initiatives.³² He had several contacts in the Protestant

Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, 14–16 mai 1981 (Paris: 1982) 15–50, here 33–50; and above all the documents edited in Baldini – Spruit, *Catholic Church and Modern Science* 2197–2264 (docs. 1–21).

29 Ibidem, doc. 10, 2243.

30 *Collectio in unum corpus, omnium librorum Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Latinorum necnon Germanice, Italice, Gallice, & Hispanice scriptorum, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564. usque ad nundinas Autumnales anni 1592 [...] venales extiterunt* (Frankfurt a.M., Nicolas Basse: 1592) 465: 'Franc. Patritii noua de uniuersis Philosophia, in qua Aristotelica Methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem & lumina ad primam causam ascenditur etc. ad sanctissimum Gregorium XIV. Ferrar. 1591. v. fol.'

31 See C. Kuhn H.C., "Counting What May Count Regionally: The Presence of Prints of Works by Frane Petrić in German Libraries", *Synthesis philosophica* 41 (2006) 139–159.

32 During the Venice Interdict, Meietti printed for the Venetian party, and as a consequence was excommunicated in 1606, and had to leave Venice (see the *Edictum excommunicationis contra Robertum typographum venetum* [Rome, Stamperia Camerale: 1606]). Cf. Rhodes D.E., "Roberto Meietti e alcuni documenti della controversia fra Papa Paolo

world, and sought the opportunity to sell Patrizi's book abroad by slyly masking the Ferrarese imprint. The general title page of the *Nova de universis philosophia* was therefore recomposed with Meietti's large printer's device replacing that of Mammarelli. Most importantly, the imprint was also modified to 'Venetijs, Excudebat Robertus Meiettus. 1593', indicating that the book had been issued before the prohibition of 1594, by a printer 'genuinely' unaware of what was going in Roman palaces. The quires of the Mammarelli edition were re-assembled, with a few changes in the sequence of the books, and the internal title pages and Patrizi's dedicatory epistle to Cardinals were mostly cut out.

Meietti's camouflage enjoyed a certain circulation north of the Alps: the *Nova de universis philosophia* of 1593 is held in numerous British and Dutch institutional libraries, and eleven copies are counted in Germany. The work could thus come into the hands of European scholars, and among its contemporary – or nearly contemporary – readers, Paola Zambelli lists John Dee, William Gilbert, Johannes Kepler, Robert Fludd, Johann Amos Comenius, and Pierre Gassendi.³³ The copy once owned by Herbert of Cherbury is now in the Corpus Christi College Library,³⁴ while the earliest inventories attest to the presence of the work in the Fugger book collection.³⁵ Further research into the provenance of other copies scattered across Europe and America may well increase our understanding of the extent to which Patrizi's treatise was circulated. Furthermore, in the National Library of Florence, Paola Zambelli has discovered a late masked duplicate: a two-volume edition of the *Nova*, issued without any mention of Patrizi and fictively titled *Naturalis magia sive innumerabilium naturae arcanorum aurea explicatio* (*Natural Magic, or Golden Explication of the countless Mysteries of Nature*). The imprint reads 'Ferrariae, Ex Typographia Benedicti Mammarelli. 1640,' and Zambelli suggests that the volumes may have been produced in a German-speaking area.³⁶ More recently, another camouflaged copy has been discovered among the collections of the Bodleian Library. The volume titled *Hermetis Trismegisti opuscula* and issued

V e Venezia", *Studi Secenteschi* 1 (1960) 165–174; Wilding N., *Galileo's Idol. Gianfrancesco Sagredo and the Politics of Knowledge* (Chicago-London: 2014) 100–106.

33 Zambelli P., "Aneddoti patriziani", *Rinascimento* 7 (1967) 309–318.

34 Cherbury's copy held at the Rare Books Collection of the Corpus Christi College Library bears the shelfmark V.11 (Folio).

35 See Noe A., *Die Präsenz der romanischen Literatur in der 1655 nach Wien verkauften Fuggerbibliothek*, Amsterdam-Atlanta 1997 vol. 1, 275, among the *Philosophi in Folio*, 'Francisci Patricij noua de vniuersis Philosophiae cum alijs quibusdam Auctoribus'.

36 Zambelli, "Aneddoti patriziani" 314: 'è significativo che – pur dissimulando – qualcuno, ancor nel 1640, sfidasse l'*Indice* per far circolare e per conservare l'opera di Francesco Patrizi'.

in 1611 by the London printer Robert Field is made up of leaves from the *Nova de universis philosophia*, containing the Hermetic texts edited by Patrizi, whose name is however omitted.³⁷ The publication offers striking evidence of an independent and meaningful circulation of Patrizi's *Hermetica*, a particular line of reception, which had first surfaced in Germany, in 1593.³⁸

3 Patrizi and Hermeticism: Heinrich von Rantzau and the *Magia philosophica* of 1593

The year 1593 was crucial for the dissemination of Patrizi's views in Germany. In that year, an octavo volume appeared in Hamburg, printed in all likelihood by the heirs of Jakob Wolff, and titled *Magia philosophica hoc est Francisci Patricii summi philosophi Zoroaster, & eius 320. Oracula Chaldaica* (*Magical Philosophy, or the Zoroaster and the 320 Chaldean Oracles collected by the greatest Philosopher Francesco Patrizi*).³⁹ The financial backer of the Hamburg publication was the nobleman Heinrich von Rantzau (1526–1599), governor (*Stadtholder*) for the Danish kings in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein.⁴⁰

37 *Hermetis Trismegisti opuscula. Cum fragmentis quotquot reperiuntur, ordine scientifico disposita, et scholiis perutilibus illustrata. Item Asclepii discipuli, tres libelli. Quibus sunt adiecta. Zoroastri oracula CCCXX. ex Platonis collecta. Mystica Aegyptiorum à Platone dictata, ab Aristotele excepta, & perscripta philosophia* (London, Robert Field: 1611). Field printed only the title page with the new title and imprint, and the dedicatory epistle signed by R.H.R. to Sir John Radcliffe.

38 For a general reconstruction see Stausberg M., *Faszination Zarathushtra. Zoroaster und die Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin-New York: 1998), who devotes a lengthy chapter to Patrizi, vol. 1, 291–393.

39 Patrizi Francesco, *Magia philosophica hoc est Francisci Patricii summi philosophi Zoroaster, et eius 320. Oracula Chaldaica. Asclepii Dialogus. et Philosophia magna. Hermetis Trismegisti. Poemander. Sermo Sacer. Clavis. Sermo ad filium, Sermo ad Asclepium. Minerva mundi & alia Miscellanea. Jam nunc primum ex Bibliotheca Ranzoviana e tenebris eruta & latine reddita* (Hamburg, Heirs of Jakob Wolff: 1593). On the verso of the title page a medallion woodcut portrait of Duke Heinrich von Rantzau, with his emblem 'Dies mortis eternae vitae natalis est, / Sementis est morte Unde vita pullulat'. For the attribution of printing see W. Kayser (ed.), *Hamburger Bücher 1491–1850* (Hamburg: 1973) no. 42; Zeeberg P., *Heinrich Rantzau. A Bibliography* (Copenhagen: 2004) no. 151.

40 On Rantzau, besides Zeeberg's *Introduction* to the aforementioned *Heinrich Rantzau*, see Moller Johann, *Cimbria Literata*, vol. 3 (Copenhagen, Vajsenhuset: 1744) 567–599; Steinmetz W., *Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598). Ein Vertreter des Humanismus in Nordeuropa und seine Wirkungen als Förder der Künste* (Frankfurt a.M. – Bern: 1991); Lohmeier D., *Heinrich Rantzau. Humanismus und Renaissance in Schleswig-Holstein* (Heide: 2000);

Rantzau received a humanistic education in Wittenberg, had a wide network of correspondence – including such leading scientists and scholars as Tycho Brahe and Justus Lipsius – and authored numerous works. These were mainly devoted to astrology, which he had been one of the most prominent promoters in Germany, following the Melanchthonian revival of the discipline as a possible complement to evangelical faith. Rantzau's *Tractatus astrologicus* of 1593, deeply influenced by Girolamo Cardano, enjoyed great popularity, and was widely used as a textbook.⁴¹ A wealthy patron of the arts, he had amassed a notable library in his residence at Breitenburg – consisting of more than 6,000 books⁴² – and had also financed an intense publishing project, mostly in order to promote himself and his wide circle of clients. The title page of the *Magia philosophica* bears the inscription 'ex Bibliotheca Ranzoviana e tenebris eruta & latine reddita', ambiguously suggesting that the text had relied upon a manuscript preserved in Rantzau's own library. On the contrary, the *Magia philosophica* presents the Hermetic texts appended to the *Nova de universis philosophia*, including Patrizi's works on Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus. The sequence of the writings published by Rantzau is however slightly different. It lacks the Greek text, and the collection includes neither the *Aesclepius* nor the last two books attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Obviously, the volume *ex Bibliotheca Ranzoviana* does not contain those dedicatory epistles to Roman cardinals, in which the philosopher from Cherso expressed his hope

Ludwig W., "Der Humanist Heinrich Rantzau und die deutschen Humanisten", in Hazy Th. (ed.), *Humanismus im Norden. Frühneuzeitliche Rezeption antiker Kultur und Literatur an Nord- und Ostsee* (Amsterdam-Atlanta: 2000) 1–41.

- 41 Rantzau Heinrich von, *Tractatus astrologicus de genethliacorum thematum iudiciis pro singulis nati accidentibus* (Frankfurt a.M., Johann Wechel: 1593). See above all Oestmann G., *Heinrich Rantzau und die Astrologie. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Braunschweig: 2004); on the diffusion of astrology in contemporary Germany cf. at least Brosseder C., *Im Bann der Sterne. Caspar Peucer, Philipp Melanchthon und andere Wittenberger Astrologen* (Berlin: 2004), and Barnes R.B., *Astrology and Reformation* (Oxford: 2016), both including references to Rantzau.
- 42 Contemporary reports on Rantzau's library in Crusius Georg, *Descriptio Bredenbergeae Holsaticae sive Cimbricae in Stormaria arcis, conditae primum a magnanimo Heroe D. Iohanne Rantzovio, nunc ab eius filio Henrico regis Danorum consiliario [...]* nouis aedificijs (Wittenberg, Johann Crato the Elder: 1570), and Lindeberg Peter, *Hypotyposis Arcium, Palatiorum, Librorum, Pyramidum, Obeliscorum, Molarum, Fontium, Monumentorum & Epitaphiorum, ab illustri & strenuo [...]* Henrico Ranzovio, Prorege & equite Holsato, conditorum [...] (Rostock, Stephan Myliander: 1590) 7–9. Rantzau's book collection was dispersed after his death in 1599, and the volumes are scattered across various institutional libraries in Germany and other northern countries. For a list of the volumes as yet identified see Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, passim.

for the recovery of religious unity under Roman authority; Patrizi's *Thesaurus sapientiae* is thus adapted to a Protestant reading public.⁴³

According to a letter written from Segeberg, Rantzau's collaborator, and the possible editor of the *Magia philosophica*, Georg Ludwig Frobenius (1566–1645), was reading the proofs of the volume in March 1593, that is, before the condemnation of the *Nova* in 1594, and the subsequent appearance on the market of Meietti's camouflage.⁴⁴ Rantzau therefore would have had at his disposal a copy of the Ferrarese edition, an indication of the transalpine circulation of Mammarelli's publication. He could have purchased a copy of Patrizi's treatise at the Frankfurt book fair, where the book had been presented in 1592,⁴⁵ or he could have received the book directly from Italy. Rantzau had close contacts in Italy:⁴⁶ his *Epistolae consolatoriae* contain letters exchanged with the Duke of Parma Alessandro Farnese, Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Florentine historian Scipione Ammirato.⁴⁷ He even had contacts in the Roman Curia. A Vatican manuscript contains a draft of a letter addressed to him by the Cardinal of Santa Severina and 'Gran

43 Rantzau had already mentioned Patrizi in the second edition of his popular *Catalogus, Imperatorum, Regum, ac Virorum illustrium, qui artem astrologicam amarunt, ornarunt et exerceverunt* (Leipzig, Georg Defner and Henning Grosse: 1594) 102–103, quoting – among the *testimonia* in favour of astrology – a passage from the aforementioned Stupanus's Latin edition Patrizi, *De legendae scribendaeque historiae ratione, dialogi decem*, and in particular from its third dialogue 'Contarenius, De Historiae definitione' (ibidem, 38–63), in which Patrizi deals with Egyptian wisdom.

44 The letter – mentioned by Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau* 58 – is dated on 2/3 March 1593, and preserved in the Cod. Vindob. 9737n of the National Library in Vienna, no. 3. Froben had studied mathematics and law at the University of Wittenberg, and entered Rantzau's service in July 1591. After his patron's death, he moved to Hamburg, where he established a printing press. See Hoffmann F.H., *Der gelehrte Buchhändler Georg Ludwig Frobenius in Hamburg. Biographisches. Verzeichniss seiner Schriften* (Hamburg: 1867).

45 See above, note 30.

46 On Rantzau's wide network see Bertheau F., "Heinrich Rantzau als Humanist", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Geschichte* 18 (1888) 133–196; Idem, "Aus dem Briefwechsel Heinrich Rantzau von 1570 bis 1594", ibidem 22 (1892) 239–283; Fuhrmann H., "Heinrich Rantzau's römische Korrespondenten", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 41 (1959) 63–89; Steinmetz, *Heinrich Rantzau* 138–140.

47 Rantzau Heinrich von, *Epistolae consolatoriae Regum, Principum, Comitum, Baronum, Nobilium, aliorumque clarissimorum & doctissimorum virorum, ad Henricum Ranzovium, regis Daniae Producem Cimbrum* [...] *Opera et studio M. Georgii Ludovici Frobenii collectae* (Frankfurt a.M., Peter Fischer: 1595).

Inquisitore' Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602),⁴⁸ and the correspondence well documents Rantzau's acquaintance with the diplomat Minuccio Minucci (1551–1604).⁴⁹ Minucci had travelled extensively throughout Germany. Between 1591 and 1595 he was active in Rome as secretary of the *Congregatio Germanica* – the special commission for German affairs established by Innocent XI – and in 1596 he was named archbishop of Zadar, in Dalmatia. A few years earlier, in 1588, Minucci had composed the lengthy *Stato della religione d'Alemagna, pericoli che soprastanno e rimedii* [*Present State of the religious affairs in Germany, the dangers that remain and the remedies to be taken*], in which he had stressed the role that the Lutheran Rantzau – 'a learned man [...] who lives according to the Augustan Confession, but deals however gladly with Catholics' – could play in favour of Rome, and the hopeful return to the Roman Church of those heretic territories.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in 1592 Rantzau's secretary Caspar Schmidt (also known as Faber or Fabricius) travelled to Florence and Rome,⁵¹ and the letters document the exchange of books, albeit often in a clandestine manner, under the cover of grain, wine, or beer deliveries.⁵²

48 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6547, fol. 314r. See Fuhrmann, "Heinrich Rantzaus römische Korrespondenten" 69–74.

49 On Rantzau's acquaintance with the Italian diplomat cf. Bertheau F., "Aus dem Briefwechsel Heinrich Rantzau" 275–276; Hansen J., *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. Dritte Abtheilung 1572–1585. Erster Band* (Berlin: 1892) 737–743. Rantzau came into contact with Minucci through Georg Braun, canon and dean at the church St. Maria ad Gradus in Cologne, and well-known as one of the compilers of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

50 Hansen, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland* 749, [Rantzau] 'uomo dottissimo et versatissimo nei mestieri della pace et della guerra, il quale vive secondo la Confessione Augustana, ma tratta volentieri con cattolici, ne si mostra abborrente dalla vera fede, la cui reductione potria un dì partorire alla chiesa qualche grandissimo frutto per la reputatione, in ch'egli è nelle dette provincie et presso il re di Danimarca'. On this point cf. also Fuhrmann, *Heinrich Rantzaus* 88–89, and Brandt O., *Heinrich Rantzau und seine Relationen an die Dänischen Könige. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich-Berlin: 1927) 97–98.

51 Concerning Rantzau's secretary and his possible commissions in Rome, see Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau* 60. Faber's name is listed in 1593, among the *matriculae* of the *Natio Germanica* in Padua; cf. Rossetti L. – Bonfiglio Dosio G. (eds.), *Matricula Nationis Germanicae artistarum in Gymnasio Patavino (1553–1721)* (Padua: 1986), no. 806, 'Casparus Fabricius Regiomontanus Borussus pridie kalendas novembris [1593] inscripsit, dedit 4 libras'.

52 Rantzau's correspondence – scattered in the National Library in Vienna (Cod. Vindob. 9737 I–n), the University libraries of Kiel (S.H. 388) and Göttingen (Prid. 8, Bd. IX, 2.T), and in the Archives of the Breitenburg Castle – deserves further researches.

Regardless of what really happened, the *Magia philosophica* financed by this interesting non-academic figure resonated in northern Europe, and greatly contributed to Patrizi's circulation. At the same time, however, Rantzau's publishing initiative established a particular line of reception, which promoted Patrizi as an editor of Hermetic texts, somewhat overshadowing other, and even more relevant, aspects of his philosophy. From 1593 onwards, and finding fertile soil in the fascination with Hermeticism among German intellectual circles, Patrizi's *Hermetica* began to circulate separately, thus widely disseminating these texts as well as his total belief in the antiquity and historicity of the philosophy professed by Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, and other hermetic writers.

Also noteworthy in this context, if not belonging strictly to the realm of German book production, is a work published by the Leiden physician Otto van Heurne (1577–1592), the *Barbaricae Philosophiae antiquitatum Libri duo*, which appeared in Antwerp in 1600.⁵³ This work includes the Latin text of Zoroaster's *Oracula*, explicitly based on Patrizi's edition. Indicating his source to be a publication issued 'nostro aevo anno 1593', Heurne however seems to reference the *Magia philosophica* of 1593, rather than Meietti's *Nova de universis philosophia*.⁵⁴ Additionally, in 1611 the enigmatic Caesar Longinus published the second edition of the collection *Trinum magicum, sive secretorum naturalium opus* (*Three-fold Magic, or a Collection of Natural Secrets*) in Frankfurt.⁵⁵ This new edition, significantly enlarged and introduced by the slightly modified title of *Trinum magicum, sive secretorum magicorum opus* (*Three-fold Magic, or a Collection of Magical Secrets*), encompasses the ancient tradition of magical knowledge, and includes, among others, the *Oracula Zoroastris*, whose text faithfully reproduces that of Patrizi's edition, or more precisely its

53 Heurne Otto van, *Barbaricae Philosophiae antiquitatum Libri duo: I Chaldaicus, II Indicus. Opus historicum & philosophicum* (Antwerp, Christopher Raphelengius: 1600). For the text of the *Oracula* see 120–140.

54 Ibidem, 123–124.

55 Longinus Caesar, *Trinum Magicum; Sive Secretorum Naturalium, Coelestium, Infernalium Opus Admirandum ac plane novum: Continens I. Marci Antonii Zimarae, Conclusiones Physicas, Metaphysicas, Elementales, Coelestes, Infernales, Morales, ac Doctrinales. II. Alexandri Aphrodisei Quaestiones & Solutiones Physico-Mathematicas. III. Alberti Magni, Tractatus tres, de Virtutibus Herbarum, Lapidum & Animalium ex Magicae disciplinae fundamentis eruti* (Frankfurt a.M., Anton Humm and Johann Spies: 1609). Nothing is known about Caesar Longinus – possibly a nickname – who on the title page prides himself as a 'Philosophus'.

Hamburg reprint, or adaptation, of 1593.⁵⁶ Longinus's work enjoyed wide popularity, and was frequently reprinted during the seventeenth century, up until 1673. In December of 1700 the Congregation of the Index prohibited it, and its title was thus included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.⁵⁷ Longinus does not mention Patrizi by name. However, in the copy of the *Trinum magicum* held at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, an early hand added – under the heading 'Logia, Sive Oracula Zoroastri, ex Platoniorum Libris collecta' – the note 'ex versione Francisci Patricij'.⁵⁸

Over the century Patrizi's name was increasingly associated with natural magic, esoteric practices, and mystical doctrines. A striking example is represented by the *Pegasus Firmamenti sive Introductio Brevis in veterum sapientiam*, published in 1618 – as the title page states, 'Cum gratia Apollinis & Privilegio Musarum peculiari (issued under Apollo's patronage and with a special privilege granted by the Muses)' – by Christoph Hirsch (1578–1653), under the nickname Josephus Stellatus, 'Secretioris Philosophiae alumnus (a disciple of a more secret wisdom)'.⁵⁹ Hirsch was among the closest collaborators of the Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt (1555–1621), and drew significantly from Patrizi's *Hermetica* – once again on the basis of Rantzau's *Magia philosophica* – including the philosopher in a tradition whose three main steps are represented by the 'philosophers' father' Hermes Trismegistus, Paracelsus – the 'Trismegistus Germanus' – and the Christian Rosicrucians.⁶⁰ In the background

56 Longinus Caesar, *Trinum magicum, sive secretorum magicorum opus: continens 1. De magia naturalis, artificiosa & superstitiosa Disquisitiones axiomatice. 2. Theatrum naturae, praeter curam magnetica, & veterum sophorum sigilla & imagines magicas [...] exhibens. 3. Oracula Zoroastri, & mysteria mysticae philosophiae, Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum, Aegyptiorum, Arabum, Persarum, Graecorum, Orphicorum, Pythagoricorum & Latinorum [...] Editum a Caesare Longino, Philos.* (Frankfurt a.M. – Offenbach, Anton Humm and Georg Beatus: 1611), in the section *Logia, Sive Oracula Zoroastri, ex Platoniorum Libris collecta* (pp. 494–520).

57 See de Bujanda J.M. (ed.), *Index des livres interdits. Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966* (Montreal et al.: 2002) 558.

58 The copy of Longinus's *Trinum magicum, sive secretorum magicorum opus* held at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (= HAB) bears the shelfmark 148 Med.

59 Hirsch Christopher, *Pegasus Firmamenti. Sive introductio brevis in veterum sapientiam, quae olim ab Aegyptiis & Persis Magia hodie vero a Venerabili Fraternitate Roseae crucis Pansophia recte vocatur, in pia ac studiosae Juventutis gratiam conscripta a Josepho Stellato, Secretioris Philosophiae alumno [...] Cum gratia Apollinis & Privilegio Musarum peculiari* (n.p.: 1618). The verso of the title page bears the epigram *De Venerabili et Gloriosa Societate Roseae Crucis*.

60 Ibidem, fols. B8v–C2v.

of Luther's regeneration of the *Book of nature* (*liber naturae*) as testimony of God himself, Patrizi was thus transformed into a herald of the *Pansophia*.⁶¹

4 Patrizi and Natural Philosophy: The *Zoroaster* by Johann Jessen (1593)

In 1593 another work appeared which significantly contributed to the German dissemination of the *Nova de universis philosophia*, the *Zoroaster*, subtitled *Nova, brevis, veraque de universo philosophia*, by the philosopher and physician Johann Jessenius a Jessen (1566–1621), a very interesting figure in the cultural history of Central Europe.⁶² Jessen was born in Wrocław. In 1583, his name was listed among the *matriculae* of the University of Wittenberg, and as of 1585 he was studying philosophy and medicine in Leipzig. Then, like numerous other young German students of that age, he moved to Padua, where he became a pupil of the philosopher Francesco Piccolomini and the physician Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente. In the winter of 1591 Jessen returned to his hometown, and in 1594 was promoted to the chair of surgery at Wittenberg, followed by that of anatomy as well. In 1597 he became rector of the university, and was well acquainted with Tycho Brahe, who lived in his house for six months.⁶³ In 1602 Jessen moved to Prague, and in 1617 became rector of its university. He was incarcerated after the battle of White Mountain and hanged on 21 June 1621.

Jessen's octavo-sized *Zoroaster* closely calques the schema of *Nova de universis philosophia*,⁶⁴ and the work was often considered mere plagiarism. In

61 On the Rosicrucian context of Hirsch's publishing initiative, cf. Gilly C., "Vom ägyptischen Hermes zum Trismegistus Germanus. Wandlungen des Hermetismus in der Paracelsistischen und Rosenkreuzischen Literatur", in Alt P.-A. – Volkhard V. (eds.), *Konzepte des Hermetismus in der Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2010) 71–131; see also Wollgast S., *Philosophie in Deutschland zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung 1550–1650* (Berlin: 1988) 104–105.

62 On Jessen see Pick F. (ed.), *Denkschrift des Rektors Johannes Jessenius von Groß-Jessen an den Generallandtag von 1619 über die Erneuerung der Prager Universität* (Prague: 1920) 28–130; Idem, *Johannes Jessenius de Magna Jessen. Arzt und Rektor in Wittenberg und Prag hingerichtet am 21. Juni 1621. Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Leipzig: 1926).

63 Patrizi was one of the first philosophers to confront Tycho Brahe's system, which may well have helped pique Jessen's interest in the *Nova de universis philosophia*.

64 Jessen, Johann, *Zoroaster, nova, brevis, veraque de universo philosophia* (Wittenberg, Johann Krafft Jr.: 1593). Concerning this work see Nejeschleba T., "Johannes von Jessen und der Renaissanceplatonismus", in Matula J. (ed.) *Florentine Platonism and Central Europe*.

fact, Jessen never mentioned Patrizi's name, and in the address to the reader he listed, among his sources, Iamblichus, Ficino, and the Dutch physician Jan van Gorpe.⁶⁵ A minor trace of his real source is however detectable in a short tribute printed on the preliminary leaves, the *De Zoroastro votum* composed by a certain 'Theocharis Hermes', which contains, as the unique occurrence in the work, the name of 'Patricius'. Even the subtitle on the title page – *Nova, brevis, veraque de universo philosophia* – closely recalls that of Patrizi's treatise. Jessen's *Zoroaster* is a 'brevis' *Nova de universis philosophia*, a compendium of about hundred pages of a book read (and maybe also bought) in Italy, and carried across the Alps.

Jessen likely became acquainted with Patrizi's work in Padua. He had matriculated at the *Facultas artistarum* on 7 December 1588,⁶⁶ and published his first work in Padua in 1591, *De divina humanaque philosophia*, the content of which is strongly imbued with Paduan Aristotelism.⁶⁷ The *Zoroaster* is completely different, revealing his sympathetic reading of Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*. The work was published right after Jessen's return from Italy, as is seen by the prefatory letter to Saxon Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, dated 'Wratislaviae [i.e. Wrocław] die Beatae virgini natali', i.e. 8 September 1593, and the phrases used immediately recall Patrizi's dedication to Pope Gregory XIV, albeit adapted here for a Lutheran audience. In this dedicatory epistle he declared his intent to publish a more lengthy work on Hermes Trismegistus, and presented his *Zoroaster* as a commentary – without mentioning his source – to

Florentinischer Platonismus und Mitteleuropa (Olomouc: 2001) 73–81; Nejeschleba T., "Johannes Jessenius. Between Plagiarism and an Adequate Understanding of Patrizi's Philosophy", in Nejeschleba T. – Blum P.R. (eds.), *Francesco Patrizi Philosopher of the Renaissance* (Olomouc-Sbornik: 2014) 359–369.

65 Jessen particularly referenced Gorpe's *Hieroglyphica*, published posthumously in his *Opera hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe, Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1580).

66 Rossetti L. – Bonfiglio Dosio G.L. (eds.), *Matricula Nationis Germanicae* no. 644. On Jessen's travel to Padua cf. *Vota profelici ingressu Italiae nobilis et doctissimi viri D. Ioan. Iessensky a Iessen, Philos. et Artium Medendi candidati. Fusa Lipsiae ab amicis sui amantiss: anno mirabili MDLXXXVIII* (Nuremberg, Christopher Lochner and Johann Hoffmann: [1588]). The *Vota* contains eight epigrams by Jessen's friends, or acquaintances. The first verses from the poem composed by Otto Schwallenberg, professor of law at the University of Leipzig, are especially notable: 'Terra viris doctis nusquam foecundior extat / Italia nulla est terra beata magis. / Hinc ad Pannonios fortes clarosque Alemannos / Tandem migrabit laus, decus artis amor'.

67 Jessen Johann, *De divina humanaque philosophia, Progymnasma peripatheticum ad Divum Rudolphum II., Rom. Imperatorem* (Venice, Giacchino Brugnoli: 1591).

those 320 Zoroastrian oracles, which Patrizi had published as an appendix to the *Nova de universis philosophia*. Indeed, Jessen's plan was by far more ambitious. Turning to the main text, he summarized the various sections of Patrizi's work. First the *Panarchia*, dealing with world creation, a substantial abstract of the *Pancosmia* then follows, devoted mainly to the key notion of space. The final pages present the 'Mundi fabrica [*Fabric of the World*]', which corresponds to Patrizi's *Pampsychia*, and describe the nature and qualities of the moon, stars and other celestial bodies, elaborating a 'strange' quasi-Copernician cosmology, which goes doubtless farther than Patrizi. Jessen did not, however, take into account the first section of the *Nova de universis philosophia*, i.e. the *Panaugia*, and its metaphysics of light.

Jessen published his *Zoroaster* with the goal of obtaining a chair at the University of Wittenberg, and the opportunity to present himself as a proponent of a new philosophy of universe, a 'new' yet simultaneously 'antique' philosophical system – that *pia philosophia* closer to Christian faith than for example the impious Aristotelian-Averroistic tradition – could prove helpful in achieving his goal. In comparison with other German universities of the time, the academic curriculum in Wittenberg had a certain freedom,⁶⁸ and the climate was more favourable to the introduction of eclectic views, even those opposing the hegemony of the *corpus aristotelicum*, which could be useful employed in polemics with the Aristotelian rationalism professed by Calvinist theologians. Additionally, themes like the revival of an ancient, divine wisdom, the revelation of prophetic truth, and the re-discovery of religious insights anticipating Christian wisdom, were congenial to Lutheran mysticism, which was widely represented at Wittenberg University.⁶⁹ The *Zoroaster* was indeed favourably accepted by the dedicatee, and thanks to the high patronage of the Saxon Elector, Jessen was successful in obtaining his desired chair.

Nevertheless, in the subsequent years Jessen tried to mollify his Patrician enthusiasm. The announced work on Hermes Trismegistus never came into print, and his publishing activity became mainly devoted to medical topics. In

68 On Wittenberg University see Kathe H., *Die Wittenberger Philosophische Fakultät 1502–1817* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2002) 163–263; Ludwig U., *Philippismus und orthodoxes Lutherthum an der Universität Wittenberg. Die Rolle Jakob Andreäs im lutherischen Konfessionalisierungsprozeß Kursachsens (1576–1580)* (Münster: 2009).

69 Cf. on this complex question Barnes R.B., *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, CA: 1988), and especially concerning Jessen's *Zoroaster*, Idem, "The *Prisca Theologia*" and Lutheran Confessional Identity c. 1600: Johannes Jessen and his *Zoroaster*", in Mulsow M. (ed.), *Spätrenaissance-Philosophie in Deutschland 1570–1650. Entwürfe zwischen Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung, okkulten Traditionen und Schulmetaphysik* (Tübingen: 2009) 43–55.

1599 Jessen re-entered the field of natural philosophy with his *De sympathiae et antipathiae rerum naturalium caussis disquisitio singularis* (*A Disquisition on Sympathy and Antipathy in Nature*), in which he, however, declared that his discussion of notions firmly relied upon Aristotle, while, from the point of view of a neutral reader, one could have well explained them according to a Platonic, or Neoplatonic tradition – to say nothing of Paracelsian views.⁷⁰ These conflicting issues reveal the ‘unresolved’ nature of Jessen’s intellectual position, his conflicted attitude towards Renaissance philosophy, and ultimately his problematic reception of Patrizi.⁷¹

In any case, while Rantzaus’s *Magia philosophica* had basically transmitted a ‘partial’ image of Patrizi, it is Jessen who deserves credit for having brought into Germany and Central Europe Patrizi’s philosophy in its entirety,⁷² at least in terms of some relevant aspects, above all its cosmological views.

Patrizi’s cosmology, and especially his philosophy of space, had a certain success in the German milieu.⁷³ The influence his cosmological ideas is, for

70 Jessen Johann, *De sympathiae et antipathiae rerum naturalium caussis Disquisitio singularis, quam in publico pro virili ad Cal. Iunij defendere conabitur M. Daniel Sennertus* (Wittenberg, Wolfgang Meissner: 1599) fol. A2r, ‘Aristotelis commune res tractandi institutum secutus’. On this debate in Wittenberg see Nejeschleba T., “Theory of Sympathy and Antipathy in Wittenberg in the 16th century”, *Acta Universitatis Olomoucensis. Philosophia* 7 (2006) 81–91.

71 Noteworthy is the fact that Jessen returned to similar themes only after he had moved to the Prague of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph II, as his edition of the *De Hierographia* by the court historian Jacobus Typotius attests. See *De Hierographia, quae complectitur hieroglyphica, atque symbola libri duo. Opus posthumum, cura Doct. Jessenii servatum, editumque* (Prague, Paulus Sessius: ca. 1618).

72 The debate on the possible influence exerted by the Jessen’s *Zoroaster* on Comenius is still open. See Nejeschleba T., “Die philosophischen Werke des Johannes Jessenius als Quelle einiger Gedanken des Comenius”, in Schadel E. (ed.), *Johann Amos Comenius. Vordenker eines kreativen Friedens* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2005) 147–160. On Comenius’s possible reading of Patrizi’s *Nova de universis philosophia* in the early 1640s, during his London stay, see Cervenka J., *Die Naturphilosophie des Johann Amos Comenius* (Prague: 1970) 76, and the aforementioned Zambelli P., “Aneddoti patriziani”.

73 On Patrizi’s notion of space cf. De Risi V., “Francesco Patrizi and the New Geometry of Space”, in Vermeir K. – Regier J. (eds.), *Boundaries, Extents and Circulations. Space and Spatiality in Early Modern Natural Philosophy*, Cham, CH: 2016) 55–106. Although Patrizi did not support Copernicus’ theory and denied the centrality of the sun, he did advocate for the homogeneity and continuity of universal, infinite, and luminous space which subsists independently, and expands *ad infinitum* beyond the sphere of the fixed stars. On this point see Omodeo P.D., *Copernicus in the Cultural Debates of the Renaissance. Reception, Legacy, Transformation* (Leiden-Boston: 2014) 175–179.

example, unquestionable in the physician and natural philosopher Daniel Sennert (1527–1637), a native of Wrocław who was one of the disciples of Jessen in Wittenberg. He graduated in 1601, and in the subsequent year succeeded his teacher.⁷⁴ An eclectic thinker, Sennert's natural philosophy combined Aristotelian doctrines with elements taken from Plato, the Hermetic tradition, Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and above all Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*. He was in fact well acquainted with Patrizi's work, and especially with his notions of space and light, as evinced by the *Disputatio XI. De luce, lumine, colore, et influentia coelesti*, discussed in Wittenberg on 21 November 1599. The text of this *disputatio* was then included in the collection of *Epitome naturalis scientiae comprehensa disputationibus XXVI* of 1600,⁷⁵ a work in which Sennert's adherence to Aristotle's views shows its first noticeable divergences. Sennert also followed Patrizi's doctrines on a number of topics in his later and more influential *Hypomnemata physica* of 1636.⁷⁶

As opposed to Sennert, Otho Casmann (1562–1607), a pupil of Rudolf Goclenius, did not attempt to reconcile different philosophical traditions. After his studies in Marburg, Helmstedt, and Heidelberg, he taught logic and natural philosophy at the Gymnasium of Stade, in Lower Saxony. He was an enthusiastic reader of the *Nova de universis philosophia*, the arguments of which he used as an inimitable tool to refute Aristotelian philosophy. In 1596, Casmann published the *Marinarum quaestionum tractatio philosophica bipartita* (*A Philosophical Treatise on Marine Questions*),⁷⁷ which deals with the nature and motion of the sea, and features numerous passages taken from Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*, and especially the *Pancosmia*: the phrase “Hac de revideatur Philosophia Patriciana in loco de spatio” resounds here as a sort of

74 Cf. Gregory T., “Studi sull’atomismo del Seicento. II. David van Goorle e Daniel Sennert”, *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 45 (1966) 44–63; Zanier G., “La presenza di Patrizi nella filosofia naturale di Daniel Sennert”, *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 10 (2004) 347–359; see also Lüthy Ch. – Newman W.R., “Daniel Sennert’s Earliest Writings (1599–1600) and their Debt to Giordano Bruno”, *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 10 (2004) 261–279.

75 Sennert Daniel, *Epitome naturalis scientiae, comprehensa disputationibus viginti sex*, in *celeberrima Academia Witebergensi privati Collegii examini propositis a M. Daniele Sennerto, Vratislaviensi* (Witebergae, Simon Gronenberg: 1600).

76 Idem, *Hypomnemata physica. I. De rerum naturalium principiis. II. De occultis qualitatibus. III. De atomis & mistione. IV. De generatione viventius. V. De spontaneo viventium ortu* (Frankfurt a.M., Clemens Schleich and Kaspar Rötzel: 1636).

77 Casmann Otho, *Marinarum quaestionum tractatio philosophica bipartita, disceptans Quaestiones parte priore ad maris naturam pertinentes interiores: posteriore De motu maris agitatae, praecipue vero de eo, qui dicitur Affluxus & refluxus Marinus* (Frankfurt a.M., Zacharias Palthenius: 1596).

motto.⁷⁸ Patrizi's philosophy of space, and his cosmology more generally, provided the framework for other works, such as the *Cosmopoeia et uranographia Christiana* (*Christian World-Formation and Description of the Heavens*), which appeared in Frankfurt in 1598,⁷⁹ as well as the *Astrologia, chronographia et astromanteia* (*Astrology, Chronography, and Astromantic*) of 1599,⁸⁰ both of which contain various *disquisitiones Patricianae* (*Patrician disquisitions*) on the structure of the universe and his principles, ending often with Casmann's advice to his public to read directly Patrizi's *Nova de universis philosophia*.⁸¹ Upon Patrizi's principles, Casmann aimed to build a new and unconventional natural philosophy, but in a context which shows its firm hostility toward similar anti-Aristotelian novelties, to the point that he claimed 'to be in agreement with those who do not want to define me as a philosopher, whether to be a philosopher equals to being Aristotelian or Peripatetic'.⁸²

5 Conclusion: Patrizi in the Folds of German Aristotelianism

We can add a final tile to the reconstruction of Patrizi's problematic reception in Germany, extending the overview to the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1648 the Helmstedt polymath Hermann Conring (1606–1681) – who taught, in turn, natural philosophy, rhetoric, medicine, law, and politics at the Academia Julia, the University of Helmstedt – published his *De hermetica Aegyptiorum vetere et Paracelsicarum nova medicina* (*The Ancient Egyptian*

78 Ibidem 59.

79 Idem, *Cosmopoeia et uranographia Christiana, seu Commentationum disceptationumque physicarum, syndromus methodicus et problematicus II. De mundo in genere, & coelo [...]* (Frankfurt a.M., Zacharias Palthenius: 1598). See for example in the first chapter (*De mundi definitione & efficiente*) the IV. *Disquisitio Patriciana, An lumine rationis & quomodo demonstretur principium mundi*, and the V. *Disquisitio Platonica & Patriciana, de essentia principii mundani. Quid sit efficiens mundi principio*.

80 Idem, *Astrologia, chronographia et astromanteia. Seu Commentationum, disceptationumque physicarum syndromus methodicus et problematicus III [...]* (Frankfurt a.M., Zacharias Palthenius: 1599).

81 Idem, *Cosmopoeia* 37: 'de his subtiliter [...] legas Franciscum Patricium in nova sua Philosophia.'

82 Idem, *Marinarum quaestionum tractatio philosophica bipartita* 20: 'Negant multi, scio, assentiorque me Philosophum non agere, si Aristotelicum & Peripateticum tantum modo est philosophicum.'

and Modern Paracelsian Hermetic Medicine).⁸³ In this work Conring discusses Paracelsian medicine, taking a stand not only on the topic of Egyptian medical wisdom and pre-Galenic Greek medicine but also, more generally, on the controversial issue of the Hermetic Corpus and its authenticity. References to Patrizi are numerous, especially in the fifth chapter, which contains a general discussion of the Hermetic books, and presents the philosopher from Cherso as the true heir of Marsilio Ficino.⁸⁴ A detailed survey of Patrizi's edition of the Hermetic Corpus follows, supplemented by comparisons with the *Corpus* previously edited by Ficino. Conring evidently had in hand a copy of the Ferrarese *Nova de universis philosophia*, as well as the 1593 *Magia philosophica*, as certain passages in this chapter clearly demonstrate.⁸⁵ His position is, however, radically negative. He argued that Hermes was not the inventor of medicine; the medical *sapientia* of the ancient Egyptians was basically erroneous; and therapies or treatments derived from the Hermetical tradition were dangerous or ineffective, at best. Further – and this is a point of utmost importance – Hermetic medicine was inextricably linked to superstition, magic, and the cult of demons. In fact, it was a demonic medicine, and Paracelsus' followers were held responsible for the dissemination of bare and blasphemous superstitions. And what about Patrizi, the propagator of this ancient and regenerative wisdom, staunch defender of Hermes Trismegistus as a historical figure, and ardent advocate for the authenticity of those writings that circulated under his name, the forged nature of which Isaac Casaubon had however already demonstrated in his *Exercitationes* of 1614?⁸⁶ Conring attempted to save a

83 Conring Hermann, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum vetere et Paracelsicarum nova medicina liber unus. Quo simul in Hermetis Trismegisti omnia, ac universam cum Aegyptiorum Chemicorum doctrinam animadversuit* (Helmstedt, Henning Müller: 1648). A second and expanded edition appeared in Helmstedt in 1669, *De Hermetica medicina libri duo*. For a general discussion cf. Siraisi N.G., "Hermes Among the Physicians", in Mulsow M. (ed.), *Das Ende des Hermetismus. Historische Kritik und neue Naturphilosophie in der Spätrenaissance. Dokumentation und Analyse der Debatte um die Datierung der hermetischen Schriften von Genebrard bis Casaubon (1567–1614)* (Tübingen: 2002) 209–212.

84 Conring, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum medicina* 39–52.

85 In the sale catalogue of Conring's library we could not trace however the *Nova de universis philosophia* – neither the Ferrarese edition or its re-issue of 1593 – but only the *Magia philosophica* edited by Rantzau (*Catalogus Bibliothecae Conringianae* (Helmstedt, Georg Wolfgang Hamm: 1694) 208, no. 302). Conring also owned the Venetian edition of the *Discussiones peripateticae* (ibidem 80, no. 465).

86 Casaubon Isaac, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales* (London, John Norton: 1614). See Grafton A., *Defenders of the*

philosopher of Patrizi's significance,⁸⁷ and stated that his unshakeable faith in Hermetic wisdom had nothing to do with the irrational Paracelsian doctrines.⁸⁸ Patrizi was not a propagator of superstitions, and his faith in Hermetic wisdom was instead identified with his will to destroy Aristotelian philosophy.⁸⁹

Evidently, Conring's attempt to 'clear' Patrizi's name was a double-edged sword. Although he could not be considered a propagator of superstitions like the Paracelsians, Patrizi was nevertheless a vehement critic of Aristotle's authority, the philosopher who had transformed the Stagirite into a mere plagiarist of ancient *sapientia*, whose origin could be traced back to Noah, 'long before Aristotle saw the light of the day.'⁹⁰ In the *Nova de universis philosophia*, Patrizi unloads his 'odium doctrinae Aristotelicae', and therefore is included by Conring in that *nova secta* which attempts to undermine the *magnitudo* or greatness of Aristotle.⁹¹

The hegemony of Aristotelianism (or neo-Aristotelianism), in its multifarious facets and issues, seems to have been an insuperable limitation to Patrizi's reception in Helmstedt as well as in other German universities. The Italian philosopher was a *novator* (*groundbreaker*) hostile to Aristotle, and after all, in 1614 Melchior Weinrich – then dean at the University of Leipzig – held a lecture eloquently entitled *Oratio apologetica pro Aristotelis persona. Adversus calumnias ac criminationes Francisci Patritii Philosophi Platonici* (*Apology for Aristotle against the calumnies and vituperation expressed by the Platonic philosopher Patrizi*).⁹²

Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800 (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) 145–161.

87 Conring, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum medicina* 158: 'fuit enim ille quidem multae lectionis & variae doctrinae'.

88 See on this point Leinkauf Th., "Interpretation und Analogie. rationale Strukturen im Hermetismus der Frühen Neuzeit", in Trepp A.-C. – Lehmann H. (eds.), *Antike Weisheit und kulturelle Praxis. Hermetismus in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2001) 41–62.

89 Conring, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum medicina* 120: 'Et verum non sedunt hodie qui Aegyptios Graecis omnibus multum antecelluisse sapientia opinantur: quemadmodum Franciscus Patritius Aristotelicam omnem semovendam utque in ejus locum Aegyptiaca recipiatur, non dubitavit consulere'.

90 Purnell F. Jr., "Francesco Patrizi and the Critics of Hermes Trismegistus", in Mulsow M. (ed.), *Das Ende der Hermetismus* 107.

91 Conring, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum medicina* 158–159.

92 Weinrich Melchior, *Oratio apologetica pro Aristotelis persona. Adversus calumnias ac criminationes Francisci Patritii Philosophi in Libro primo tomi primi Discussionum Peripateticarum ejusdem contentas. Habitaе Lipsiae [...] XXII. die mensis Januarij M.DC.XIV* (Leipzig, Laurentius Cober: 1614).

In certain aspects, Patrizi's ambivalent reception in Germany resembles that of Giordano Bruno or Tommaso Campanella. Although printers in Wittenberg, Helmstedt, and Frankfurt had agreed – obviously, for payment – to publish Bruno's *De lampade combinatoria Lulliana*, the *Oratio consolatoria*, or *De minimo et mensura*, the Nolano continued to engender harsh polemics within the German academic milieu. In Wittenberg he gave classes on Aristotle for two years, but in 1588 he had to leave the city, owing to hostility toward his views.⁹³ He moved to Helmstedt, where he was excommunicated by the local Lutheran Church, in all likelihood for conflicts with members of the philosophy faculty.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, in Frankfurt, between 1617 and 1630, Tobias Adami made possible the printing of numerous works by his friend Campanella – among others the *De sensu rerum et magia*, the *Civitas Solis*, and the *Apologia pro Galileo*.⁹⁵ However, a century later, in 1700, Ernst Salomon Cyprian – recently named professor of philosophy in Helmstedt – conducted a lecture on the life and works of Campanella, in which he underlined the 'hopeless' anti-Aristotelianism of the Italian philosopher, an indirect way of publicly affirming – at the start of his academic career – his own untarnished alignment, or compliance, with the prevailing forms of Aristotelianism.⁹⁶

Notwithstanding, the Aristotelian hegemony over German higher education shows weak points. The Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel holds

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- 93 On Bruno's activities in Germany see Ricci S., *La fortuna di Giordano Bruno* (Florence: 1990); Canone E., "Hic ergo sapientia aedificavit sibi domum". Il soggiorno di Bruno in Germania (1586–1591)", in idem (ed.), *Giordano Bruno. Gli anni napoletani e la 'peregrinatio' europea* (Cassino: 1992) 111–138; Leinkauf T. (ed.), *Giordano Bruno in Wittenberg 1586–1588. Aristoteles, Raimundus Lullus, Astronomie* (Pisa: 2004); Becker Ch., *Giordano Bruno. Die Spuren des Ketzers: Ein Beitrag zur Literatur-, Wissenschafts- und Gelehrten Geschichte um 1600*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: 2007), esp. vol. 3: *Bruno in Deutschland 1586–1591*; Omodeo P.D., *Copernicus in the Cultural Debates of the Renaissance*, passim.
- 94 Omodeo, P.D., "Helmstedt 1589: Wer exkommunizierte Giordano Bruno?", *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* 5, 3 (2011) 103–114.
- 95 See among others, Firpo L., "Tobia Adami e la fortuna di Campanella in Germania", in *Storia della cultura del Mezzogiorno* (Cosenza: 1979) 77–118; Gilly C., "Campanella and the Rosicrucians", in *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: 2002) 193–210; Palumbo M., "Ernst Salomon Cyprian, biografo di Tommaso Campanella", in Ernst G. (ed.), *Laboratorio Campanella: biografia, contesti, iniziative in corso. Atti del Convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma, 19–20 ottobre 2006* (Rome 2007) 137–159; Balbiani L., "Campanella e la guerra dei Trent'Anni: ricezione e traduzione degli scritti politici in Germania", *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 17 (2011) 355–379.
- 96 Cyprian Ernst Salomon, *Programma de vita et philosophia Thomae Campanellae quo philosophiae cultores in Academia Iulia ad publicas praelectiones philosophicas invitantur* (Helmstedt, Georg Wolfgang Hamm: 1700).

a copy of the Basel edition of the *Discussiones peripateticae*, which bears the ownership inscription of Wolfgang Waldung (1554–1621).⁹⁷ Waldung became professor of physics in Altdorf in 1606; he is portrayed in the scholarly literature as a loyal Aristotelian, and his lectures are considered a mere paraphrase of Aristotelian texts.⁹⁸ In the Wolfenbüttel library we can identify other books once owned by him: the *Zoroaster*, by Johann Jessen⁹⁹ and the *Cosmopoeia et uranographia Christiana* by Otho Casmann,¹⁰⁰ as well as another miscellaneous volume entirely devoted to Casmann containing, among other things, the aforementioned *Astrologia* and the *Marinarum quaestionum tractatio*.¹⁰¹ Waldung had also once owned the *De medicina Aegyptiorum Libri quatuor*, published by the Paduan physician Prospero Albino in 1591.¹⁰² Each of these volumes contains copious *marginalia*, reading marks, and underlining in his own hand, annotations which are not polemical, but on contrary reveal Waldung's careful reading of works that go against – to borrow Casmann's words – the *populum peripateticum*. German Aristotelianism, and especially Aristotelian natural philosophy, was not monolithic but rather a complex and many-sided phenomenon. There were contaminations, eclectic elements, fissures and discontinuities, to which the case of the readings of the 'Professor physices et amator medicinae' Waldung testifies. The reception in Germany of Patrizi's views, and his *prisca philosophia* had developed exactly through these folds: a problematic, 'subterranean', and often non-academic reception, which nevertheless contributed to the erosion of Aristotelianism.¹⁰³

97 The volume held at the HAB, bearing the shelfmark 36 Quod. 2° (1), also contains a copy of Giacomo Zabarella's *De rebus naturalibus Libri XXX* (Cologne, Giovanni Battista Ciotti: 1590).

98 Cf. Mährle W., *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnburger Hohen Schulen in Altdorf* (Stuttgart: 2000) 352–354, here 353: 'Seine Vorlesungen über die Physik, die verloren sind, dürften aller Wahrscheinlichkeit in einer Paraphrase des aristotelischen Textes bestanden haben'.

99 The copy of Jessen's *Zoroaster* is bound in a medical miscellany held at the HAB with the shelfmark 105.med.

100 Casmann, *Cosmopoeia*, HAB: 78 Phys.

101 Idem, *Astrologia*, bound in the volume bearing at the HAB the shelfmark 298 Quod.

102 Albino Prospero, *De medicina Aegyptiorum libri quatuor* (Venice, Francesco de Franceschi: 1591), HAB: Med. 2.

103 See Leijnhorst C. – Lüthy Ch., "The Erosion of Aristotelianism. Confessional Physics in Early Modern Germany and the Dutch Republic", in Leijnhorst C. – Lüthy Ch. – Thijssen J.M.M.S. (eds.), *The Dynamics of Aristotelian Natural Philosophy from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: 2002) 375–411.

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Exile Experiences ‘Religionis causa’ and the Transmission of Medical Knowledge between Italy and German-Speaking Territories in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

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During the second half of the sixteenth century, several Italian-speaking physicians with an Italian education left their lands of origin after developing an interest in confessional doctrines that were not tolerated by the Roman Church. This paper* deals with three emblematic figures of both the *religionis causa* exile and the *ars medendi*: Girolamo Donzellini from Orzinuovi (Brescia, the Republic of Venice), Marcello Squarcialupi from Piombino, and Taddeo Duni from Locarno (Canton of Ticino in the *Confederatio Helvetica*). In addition to their critical thinking about faith and their common humanistic education, these medical practitioners shared an open, liberal approach to the transmission of medical-botanical knowledge, as well as broad cultural horizons. All three of them put most of their energies into developing close relationships with their colleagues in German-speaking territories. Duni and Donzellini (from the 1560s) and Squarcialupi (from the 1570s) started corresponding with three of the most important figures of European medical culture of their time: Theodor Zwinger from Basel, Joachim Camerarius the Younger from Nuremberg and Johannes Crato von Crafftheim from Breslau.¹ Lively cultural and scientific

* Abbreviations: ASVe, *S. Ufficio* = Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Sant'Ufficio*; UBB, *Fr-Gr* = Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Historischer Bestand, *Frey-Grynaeus*; BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* = Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, *Briefsammlung TREW*, *Briefe von Donzellini Girolamo an Joachim Camerarius II*; BUW, Akc 1949/611 = Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocławiu, Manuscript Akc 1949/KN 611; BUW, R. 248 = Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocławiu, Manuscript R. 248, mf. 987.

1 On Theodor Zwinger cf. Gilly, C. “Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation. Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit”, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 77 (1977) 57–137; idem, “Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation [...]”. 2. Teil, *Zwingers Philosophie*, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 79 (1979) 125–223; idem, “Il ‘Theatrum vitae’ di Theodor Zwinger: da una ‘Historia naturalis’ dell’uomo ad un ‘Novum Organum’ delle scienze”, in idem (ed.), *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal ‘400 al ‘700*

activities, made up of mutual exchanges and collaboration between European medical professionals, emerges from the study of these handwritten letters, which have so far not been used much by historians.² The so-called *Respublica medicorum* that emerges from this study seems to clash strongly with the historical context in which the physicians were acting, torn by violent interconfessional encounters.³ The internecine, religiously-motivated conflicts that were causing bloodshed in Europe were in turn closely connected with political interests and logics of power. By contrast, within the *Respublica medicorum*, religious and linguistic barriers seemed to be dropping, whereas social dynamics, which contributed to shape ever more clearly the identity image in which physicians recognised themselves, were being established. Having said this, Donzellini, Duni and Squarcialupi's *religionis causa* exiles did not exclusively coincide with non-Catholic confessional experiences, but also represented an opportunity to cement amicable and professional relationships with their German-speaking peers.

First, I will present, in a comparative perspective, the events relating to the three physicians' exile, highlighting their different evolutions, both in terms of the profound reasons driving them and of their timing, paths and ultimate outcomes. Moreover, no exile experience can be separated from the social, political and economic context in which it came about (1). Then, I will focus on the *Respublica medicorum*, of which Donzellini, Duni and Squarcialupi were fully-fledged members. While operating in a European context torn by

(Florence: 2005) 253–261; Zedelmaier H., "Navigieren im Text-Universum: Theodor Zwingers 'Theatrum vitae humanae'", *Metaphorik* 14 (2008) 113–135. On Camerarius the Younger cf. Wickert K., *Das Camerarius-Florilegium* (Berlin: 1993). On Crato von Crafftheim cf. Gunnoe Jr C.D. – Shackelford J., "Johannes Crato von Krafftheim (1519–1585): Imperial Physician, Irenicist, and Anti-Paracelsian", in Barnes R. – Midelfort H.C.E. – Plummer M.E. (eds.), *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany: Essays in Honor of H.C. Erik Midelfort* (Farnham – Burlington: 2009) 201–209; Patała A., "'Quattuor stallae in una iam urbe'. De *Officina Plantiniana* en de Republiek der Letteren van Breslau (1550–1585)", *Neederlandica Wratislaviensa* 23 (2013) 10–25, here 19–21.

2 The letters written by Donzellini, Duni and Squarcialupi to German-speaking physicians have, at least partially, survived to the present day (cf. below, n. 9, 18, 20, 32), whereas there is no evidence of the letters sent to the three Italian practitioners by Crato, Camerarius and Zwinger.

3 The expression *Respublica litterarum*, more common than *Respublica medicorum*, designated the wider community of European scholars, who shared a humanistic education. Cf. Schalk F., "Von Erasmus' *Res publica literaria* zur Gelehrtenrepublik der Aufklärung", in idem, *Studien zur französischen Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main: 1977) 143–163. The expression *Respublica medica* or *iatica* qualified the meaning of *Respublica*, restricting it to the medical sector. Bots H. – Waquet F., *La République des Lettres* (Paris-Bruxelles: 1997) 19.

religious conflicts, in which dialogue among the various Churches (ever more strict from a dogmatic and institutional point of view) was gradually dying out, these three medical practitioners were able to make the most of the tangible and intangible resources available in the *Respublica medicorum*, for the benefit of their professional and scientific development. Their condition as exiles allowed them to open up to the German-speaking world and start intense cultural and professional exchanges with physicians belonging to this world (2 and 3). The sociability and reciprocity dynamics regulating these exchanges are pointed out in the last part of the paper (4). In conclusion, I will offer an observation about how the increase in correspondence and transnational relations among medical practitioners in the middle of the sixteenth century helped strengthen the self-consciousness and social identity of the *Respublica medicorum*.

1 **Girolamo Donzellini, Marcello Squarcialupi, Taddeo Duni: Three Different Cases of Heresy**

As is well known, the Holy Office of Venice held four trials against Girolamo Donzellini (1553–1587) with three main charges: possession of forbidden books, heretical association and criticism of the bishops' management of ecclesiastical benefices. From a confessional point of view, in the Inquisitorial interrogation held on 23 November 1574, during the third trial against him (1574–1577), Donzellini declared that he had been a follower of the 'Confessio augustana', i.e. the Lutheran-Melanchthonian confession. Donzellini had been banished from the Republic of Venice on 16 December 1553 for failing to respect the summons to appear issued against him by the Inquisition court. However, the physician had already left Venice, where he lived, a few months before. He had fled the Venetian Lagoon the night preceding the 19 August 1553, when he was to appear before the inquisitors. From then on, he travelled for several years, passing through Verona, Brescia, Crema, Padua and Ferrara before heading to Germany. In September 1554 he was in Tübingen, then he went to Nuremberg and Regensburg. In 1555, the Brescian practitioner begged Ferdinand of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor from 1556, who was in Augsburg for the Imperial Diet, to help him go back to his country. On 4 July 1560, with a safe-conduct obtained by the Archduke of Austria, Donzellini went back to his homeland and spontaneously appeared before the Inquisition.⁴ Once back

4 Cf. ASVe, *S. Ufficio*, 39, fols. 4, 8–9, 11–14, 25r–26r, 34–35, 52r, 61v, 92, 99v, 100r, 101r. On the figure of Donzellini cf. Palmer R., "Physicians and Inquisition in sixteenth-century Venice.

in Venice, however, the physician was pursued by the Inquisition for the rest of his life. In fact, following the ban in December 1553 and a relatively short exile, Donzellini had to face two more trials in 1560–1561 and 1574–1577, records of which are still available. In 1587 – possibly following the opening of a new trial – the physician was sentenced to death and drowned in Venice, as attested by his contemporary, Ludwig Iselin.⁵ The inquisitorial suspicion caused the physician great concern, which moderate professional success and a steadfast belief in divine providence helped him to brave.⁶ His religious experience was indissolubly intertwined with his professional activity: in 1577, while serving a rather strict sentence imposed by the Holy Office of Venice at the end of the third trial against him, Donzellini was released by order of the Venetian government in order to deal with the plague that had been tormenting the town for two years. His successes in restoring public health allowed him to regain, through the intercession of the Venetian Senate, the right to practise medicine, a right he had been previously deprived of by a papal decree.⁷

Donzellini corresponded with imperial physicians Pietro Andrea Mattioli and Giulio Alessandrini,⁸ as well as Theodor Zwinger, Joachim Camerarius and Crato von Crafftheim.⁹ Donzellini may have met Zwinger in Padua during his

The case of Girolamo Donzellini", in Cunningham A. – Grell P.O. (eds.), in *Medicine and the Reformation* (New York: 2001) 118–133; Jacobson Schutte A., "Donzellini, Girolamo", in Prosperi A. (ed.), *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Pisa: 2010) 509–510; Quaranta A., "Umanesimo medico e culture confessionali nell'Europa del Cinquecento. Carteggi inediti (1560–1587) di Girolamo Donzellini, 'Physicus et Philosophus'", *Giornale di storia* 15 (2014) 1–32, published: <http://giornaledistoria.net>. This article (p. 4 n. 23) provides a detailed list of the literature on Donzellini produced to date. Celati A., "Heresy, Medicine and Paracelsianism in Sixteenth Century Italy: the Case of Girolamo Donzellini 1513–1587", *Gesnerus. Swiss Journal of the History of Medicine and Sciences* 71, 1 (2014) 5–37 needs to be added to this list.

5 Grendler P.F., *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: 1977; reprint, Princeton: 2015) 189 n. 28. Ludwig Iselin, from Basel, was the nephew of Basilius Amerbach, well-known Law professor at the University of Basel. Classen A., *Late-Medieval German Women's Poetry: Secular and Religious Songs* (Cambridge: 2004) 60.

6 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 18, 19, 22, 28; UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 4, 239.

7 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 28.

8 ASVe, *S. Ufficio*, 39, fol. 108v.

9 Donzellini wrote Zwinger 26 letters (1564–1586), kept at the Universitätsbibliothek Basel: UBB, *Fr-Gr*, I 12, 216–217; I 13, 104; II 02, 117–118; II 04, 072–073, 237–244; II 19, 267–274; II 23, 329–332. The 67 letters sent to Camerarius (1560–1587) are kept at the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II*, 1–67. Only one of Donzellini's letters to Crato has preserved so far and is kept at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wroclawiu: BUW, R. 248, 83.

short stay there after he fled Venice.¹⁰ In fact, Zwinger stayed in Padua from 1554 to 1559, first as a travelling companion to Pietro Perna, who went to Padua on business, then as an auditor in the town's university.¹¹ In any case, it is very likely that Zwinger and Donzellini had met through Perna. The exile from Lucca had opened a printing workshop in Basel, where Zwinger was born and lived, and had been in contact with the Brescian physician at least since 13 November 1550. This is the date of the only letter that has survived among those that Perna sent to Donzellini.¹² Donzellini most probably met Camerarius in Nuremberg, during his exile. Donzellini later met Camerarius in an apothecary shop in Verona, where the German practitioner went to buy *theriac* and *mithridatum*.¹³ Donzellini might have met Crato through Camerarius.¹⁴

In 1565–1566 Marcello Squarcialupi left Italy, presumably for religious reasons. At the end of the 1560s, soon after his son's departure, his father Michelangelo underwent a preliminary investigation by the Holy Office, leaving no room for doubt: Michelangelo's behaviour was clearly driven by the principles of the Protestant Reformation. Marcello travelled around Europe from West to East: first he moved to Piuro (the Grisons) and Basel, then to Třebíč (Moravia), Vienna, Kraków and Alba Iulia (now Cluj-Napoca, in Romania) and, finally, back to Poschiavo in the Grisons. Thereafter he returned to Alba Iulia to practice medicine (as indicated in his last letter to Zwinger in October 1587) and died there in 1592. However, we have no further information about the last years of his life.¹⁵ Squarcialupi moved to Basel in February 1572, where he met

10 ASVe, S. *Ufficio*, 39, fol. 10v. The exact dates and length of Donzellini's stay in Padua, during his exile, are not known. However, it is certain that he stayed there between the end of August 1553, after escaping from Venice, and August 1554, before going to Tübingen.

11 Gilly, "Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation, 2. Teil" 128.

12 ASVe, S. *Ufficio*, 39, fol. 1r.

13 ASVe, S. *Ufficio*, 39, fol. 108v. On Camerarius's purchase of drugs in Verona cf. *below*, paragraph 3.

14 It is not very likely that Crato and Donzellini met in Italy. Crato went to Padua in 1546 to study medicine, then got his PhD in Bologna and carried out a short period of practice in Verona, before going back to Breslau in late 1549 (Gunnoe Junior – Shackelford, "Johannes Crato von Krafftheim" 202). Donzellini went to live in Venice in 1545 (Jacobson Schutte, "Donzellini, Girolamo" 509).

15 UBB, *Fr-Gr* 11 26, 409. On the figure of Marcello Squarcialupi cf. Zucchini, G., "Per la ricostruzione dell'epistolario di Marcello Squarcialupi: alcune lettere inedite dai Grigioni (1586–1588)", in Dán R. – Pirnát A. (eds.), *Antitrinitarism in the second half of the 16th century* (Budapest – Leiden: 1982) 323–340; Madonia C., "Marcello Squarcialupi tra Poschiavo e Alba Iulia. Note biografiche", in Pastore A. (ed.), *Riforma e società nei Grigioni, Valtellina e Valchiavenna tra '500 e '600* (Milan: 1991) 89–107; idem, "Marcello Squarcialupi", in

Zwinger.¹⁶ After leaving the Rhenish town at the end of 1573 to look for better work opportunities,¹⁷ the Tuscan physician did not break off his relations with Zwinger. From the far lands of Eastern Europe, he sent him letters full of appreciation and affection.¹⁸ Squarcialupi deeply missed the learned conversations he used to have with him and the members of his cultural circle in Basel. This was one of the reasons why the Tuscan physician repeatedly encouraged Zwinger to send him more and longer letters. It was the only way for the two men, who lived about 1,000 km apart, to keep their friendship alive. Zwinger himself had recommended Squarcialupi to Crato. After their ship was wrecked while crossing the Danube on their way to Moravia,¹⁹ Squarcialupi and his family were given hospitality by the imperial *archiater* in his house in Vienna. From then on, the Tuscan physician developed a deep sense of gratitude and respect for Crato and regarded him as a protector and guide.²⁰

During the entire course of his life, the Tuscan physician was completely absorbed by professional and financial concerns, eventually causing his interest in religious matters to fade into the background. While abroad, Squarcialupi had to face the difficulties connected with looking for a job that was both suitable for his professional role and fulfilling.²¹ Both Andreas Dudith Sbardellatus,²² an imperial officer and friend of Squarcialupi, and the representatives of the

Séguenny A. – Backus I. – Rott J. (eds.), *Bibliotheca dissidentium*, 30 vols., vol. 16 (Baden-Baden: 1994) 119–170.

16 Madonia, "Marcello Squarcialupi" [1994] 120.

17 Zucchini, "Per la ricostruzione" 329–330.

18 Squarcialupi sent Zwinger 35 letters (1571–1587), now kept at the Universitätsbibliothek Basel: UBB, *Fr-Gr* I 11, 341; II 02, 159, 160; II 04, 297–302; II 14, 040; II 26, 386, 389–395, 398–413; G2 I 22, 1, 95.

19 The ship was wrecked between the end of 1573, when Squarcialupi left Basle, and 6 February 1574 (UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 391), the date of his first letter sent to Zwinger from Třebíč.

20 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 398. Ten of the letters Squarcialupi sent to Crato (1571–1585) have survived and are kept at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocławiu. BUW, R 248, mf. 987, 90–92; Akc. 1949/611, 25–31.

21 He never enjoyed a high social and economic *status*. Cf. Squarcialupi Marcello, *Primus Triumphus de Marcello Squarcialupo Plumbinensi, ab eodem Squarcialupo adornatus, et promulgatus* (Cluj-Napoca, s.n.: 1584) 61v–62r. The physician also incurred small to medium debts and often received lower compensation than that agreed with Pietro Perna; in other cases, he even had to scrape some money together. Cf. UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 391, 392, 393, 394; BUW, Akc 1949/611, 31.

22 Almási G., *The Uses of Humanism. Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 239–356.

Moravian Church,²³ whom Squarcialupi worked for from December 1574 to January 1578, bore witness to his tormented relationship to money. In his correspondence, Dudith underlined the Tuscan physician's excessive attachment to money.²⁴ The Moravian Brethren did not manage to overcome a certain mistrust towards him due to his tendency to accumulate money.²⁵ Squarcialupi's financial concerns only paused between 1579–1586, when he worked in Alba Iulia, at the court of the young Prince of Transylvania Sigismund Báthory, where he earned a regular and considerable salary. The Prince also gave him a house and other possessions.²⁶ Squarcialupi's distress was not only caused by his financial straits but by other factors as well: a liver disease that tormented him for years, difficulties in getting his works published, many of which remained manuscripts, and his being away from his family (who stayed in Switzerland while he was working in Alba Iulia).²⁷

It is possible that Squarcialupi's dissatisfaction and social and economic insecurity led him to reconsider the importance of the religious issues he was involved in. After leaning towards non-trinitarianism between the end of the 1560s and the beginning of the 1570s,²⁸ Squarcialupi seemed to move away from it. His only known confession of faith, formulated and signed by him in May 1575 at the Moravian Brethren community, appears to be perfectly orthodox from the point of view of Christology and the Trinity.²⁹ Later, in 1581 and 1583, Squarcialupi stirred up a bitter controversy with Fausto Sozzini, the main Italian representative of Transylvanian and Polish non-trinitarianism, by accusing him of picking quarrels and claiming to be the only source of truth. Squarcialupi was referring to the disputes Sozzini had in those years: one with Giorgio Biandrata, a non-trinitarian physician working for the Báthory family

23 The official name of the Moravian Church is *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of the Brethren). It was established in 1457 after the foundation of the religious reformation movement by John Hus. Cf. Markert G., *Jan Hus und die böhmische Reformation* (Norderstedt: 2013).

24 Dudithius Andreas, *Epistulae*, eds. L. Szczucki – T. Szepessy, 6. vols., vol. 6: 1577–1580 (Budapest: 2002) 161, 174.

25 Molnár A., "Marcello Squarcialupi et l'Unité des Frères Tchèques", *Bollettino della Società di studi valdesi* 58, 100 (1956) 3–20, here 6–7.

26 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 403.

27 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 389, 392, 394, 398, 404, 405, 408.

28 Gian Paolo Zucchini and Claudio Madonia reported Squarcialupi's involvement in the radical extremists' current during his stay in Piuro (1567–1571) and Basel (1572–1574). Zucchini, "Per la ricostruzione" 324–325; Madonia, "Marcello Squarcialupi" [1994] 121. Yet, there are no compelling evidence to justify it.

29 Molnár, "Marcello Squarcialupi" 13–14; Caccamo D., *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Transilvania, Polonia (1558–1611)* (Florence – Chicago: 1970) 128.

in Transylvania, on the role of Christians in the civil society (1581), and one between adorantists and non-adorantists within Polish non-trinitarianism (1583).³⁰ Squarcialupi took part in those controversies without clarifying his doctrinal position, nor did he go to the heart of the theological issues under discussion.³¹ Such behaviour would lead one to think that, although he had previously taken them into account, Squarcialupi later lost all interest in Sozzini's doctrine and in non-trinitarianism.

Taddeo Duni, originally from Locarno, in the Catholic, Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino, established sound relations with the Italian peninsula. After studying the medical art in Basel, where he most likely met Theodor Zwinger,³² in autumn 1549 Duni moved to the University of Pavia, where he was taught by the world-famous physician and mathematician Girolamo Cardano, and obtained his doctoral degree in Medicine (1550). A year later he moved to Asso, a town near Como, at that time under the jurisdiction of Milan.³³

Duni's exile is related in the chronicle he wrote in 1602, 50 years after the events. Two aspects of Duni's religious thought clearly emerge from this chronicle: his scathing attack on the Roman Church and his dissociation from the Lutheran doctrine. From the 1540s, Duni fell under the spell of the Protestant propaganda by the Milanese priest Giovanni Beccaria, who was in charge of managing the school in Locarno. The Diet of the Swiss Cantons, which met in Baden on 19 November 1554, issued a decree of expulsion from Locarno for the Protestant community. In the meantime, Duni and his Protestant community were offered hospitality by Heinrich Bullinger's Zwingli Church. Thus, under his guidance, 90 people from Locarno left for Zurich where, at first, they had to overcome the suspicion of the local professional associations, unwilling to

30 On the 1581 and 1583 disputes, cf. Cantimori, *Eretici italiani* 407–411.

31 Cf. BBU, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 403; BUW, Akc 1949/611, 29; Marcelli Squarcialupi *ad Faustum Socinum Epistola*, in Sozzini Fausto, *Opera omnia*, eds. A. Wiszowaty – F. Kuyper (Amsterdam, s.n.: 1656) 359–360.

32 Fifteen letters (1565–1581) from Taddeo Duni to Zwinger are kept at the Universitätsbibliothek Basel: UBB, *Fr-Gr*, II 04, 080–090; II 05, 17; II 05a, 0290; II 23, 174, 503.

33 Cf. Salzmann C., "Taddeo Duno, eine biographische Studie", *Vierteljahrschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich* 90 (1940) 337–344; Chenou A., "Taddeo Duno et la Réforme à Locarno", *Archivio storico ticinese* 47 (1971) 237–294; Ceschi R., *Contrade cisalpine. Momenti di storia della Svizzera italiana dai tempi remoti al 1803* (Locarno: 1987) 63–75.

welcome newcomers or to have to compete with them. Duni was appointed *Stadtarzt*, town physician.³⁴

The events reported in Duni's chronicle took place at a time of major religious conflict, which characterised the *Confederatio Helvetica* during the sixteenth century and intertwined with the political interests of the individual cantons. Heinrich Bullinger, head of the Zwingli Church of Zurich, tried to attract Locarno to the Protestant side in order to expand the trade network between the two cities and to place the Misox and Chiavenna valleys under his control. The Catholic cantons feared that the conversion of the Italian town of Locarno to the Protestant Reformation would deprive them of the political support of Spanish-controlled Lombardy and the Pope. They also feared that the appearance of a Protestant community in Locarno could endanger the terms of the Second 'national' Peace of Kappel, signed in 1531, which were unfavourable for Protestants and granted significant privileges to the Catholic minorities.³⁵

Duni and Donzellini followed their religious ideals with determination and firm belief, otherwise the Holy Office would not have easily gathered sufficient evidence to hold four trials against Donzellini, between 1553 and 1587. Duni took responsibility for the entire exiled community. As for Squarcialupi, there is no evidence of the same amount of energy and dedication to the religious matters he was involved in. The three exile experiences also differ in terms of the social and economic consequences they entailed. Squarcialupi was handsomely paid only while working for Prince Sigismund Báthory in Transylvania and, during his lifetime, he never managed to achieve the social integration and financial stability he had hoped for. Duni became *Stadtarzt* in Zurich only after the age of 30 and kept this role for the rest of his life. Despite the constant inquisitorial threats he had to face, Donzellini managed to obtain multiple professional successes.³⁶ Furthermore, although the reception given by the host countries was decisive in order to be able to establish oneself as a professional and as an author, indeed the personality of the single exiles could also affect their career. From this point of view, in his letters Squarcialupi often expressed his own despair and gave way to comments of self-pity. On the

34 Taddeo Duni's manuscript, *De persecutione adversus Locarnenses, deque exilio religionis causa illis irrogato, historia brevis*, is kept at the Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, Familienarchiv von Muralt (cf. Chenou, "Taddeo Duno", 239, 258). An Italian translation of the chronicle was published in Duni Taddeo, "Esilio dei Locarnesi (Anno 1556)", trans. K. Benrath, *Rivista Cristiana* 1 (1873) 156–172.

35 Ceschi, *Contrade cisalpine* 70.

36 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 18, 19.

contrary, Donzellini's letters revealed a brave spirit, typical of those who wished to act proactively in order to overcome hostile circumstances. The calm, unperturbed tone used by Duni in his letters to Zwinger from 1565 was most probably due to the fact that he had left behind the vicissitudes of his exile, but also depicted a self-confident, sensible man.

2 Book Exchanges and Transmission of Knowledge

Exile meant job insecurity and breaking emotional bonds. However, Donzellini, Duni and Squarcialupi found an antidote to such instability in their relations with German-speaking physicians. Italians and Germans opened channels for the transmission of books and information and started collaborating both on an editorial level and on a medical-professional level. The correspondence of the three Italian physicians sheds light on their book world and provides a lot of information both on the printed texts introduced into the book market and on the manuscripts circulating between Italy and the territories on the other side of the Alps.

Three aspects are clearly revealed by Girolamo Donzellini's letters, and can be explained through three examples: medical practitioners' willingness to provide information to their colleagues, the importance of having contacts among printers in order to get to know the texts available on the market and, at the same time, the difficulties frequently encountered by scholars in finding books. The first example is that on 14 March 1578, Donzellini informed Joachim Camerarius the Younger that two texts would be published soon, although the timing was uncertain due to the shutdown of Venetian printers during the two-year pestilence in the Lagoon (1575–1577).³⁷ The first text was a critical edition, edited by Donzellini, of the collection of *Consilia* and *Epistolae* written by Venetian medical humanist Vittore Trincavelli,³⁸ published in Venice in 1585. The second text was an edition of the first book of Avicenna's *Canon* edited by Andrea Graziolo, and published in Venice by printer Francesco Ziletti in 1580.³⁹ As far as the second aspect is concerned, suffice it to say that in February 1580 André Wechel, a printer operating in Frankfurt, informed Donzellini that

37 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II*, 23.

38 Trincavelli Vittore, *Consiliorum medicinalium libri III. Epistolarum medicinalium libri III* (Venice, Camillo and Rutilio Borgomini: 1585).

39 Avicenna, *Liber primus. De universalibus Medicae scientiae praeceptis*, Andrea Gratiolo Salodiano interprete (Venice, Francesco Ziletti: 1580).

during the next fairs he was going to publish two books by Nicolas Le Pois.⁴⁰ As mentioned above, however, texts required by physicians were not always available. Donzellini was not able to meet the request made by his friend Zwinger, who owned the Latin version of *Sixteen Books on Medicine* by Aëtius of Amida (502–565)⁴¹ and was interested in the original Greek version, because the full Greek edition had never been printed.⁴²

Book exchanges among physicians were almost always free of charge. Medical practitioners donating books did not expect to receive anything in exchange, either immediately or in the short term, nor did they think that they were giving up any potential profit. But they were also convinced that in the future they would benefit from a gift or favour in return. Sixteenth-century physicians, and in general the international *corpus* of scholars, pervaded by humanistic ideals, borrowed a well-known Medieval saying: ‘Scientia donum dei est, unde vendi non potest’.⁴³ From this perspective, the need to transmit knowledge was considered more important than profit. The actual trading of books among physicians would take place when the bookseller-printer, from whom the sender had purchased books for a colleague, expected to be compensated. In this case, the recipient of the texts would give the money to the printer through the sender. In the case of a gift, which was much more frequent, the sender would provide a colleague with one or more books without mentioning the bookseller he had got them from. The bookseller would be refunded directly by the sender, where appropriate.

One of the rare cases of book trade I have encountered is attested by a letter dated 5 February 1580 that Donzellini sent to Camerarius. The medical practitioner from Brescia had purchased, from a German trader, some texts for Camerarius and others for Crato, who therefore incurred a debt of 8 and 34 Venetian lire respectively. All the books were sent to Camerarius, who would then deliver to Crato the ones he had requested.⁴⁴ Records of texts being sent free of charge are much more frequent. On 9 August 1577, Donzellini sent

40 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II*, 32.

41 Aëtius Amidenus, *Libri XVI: In Tres Tomos divisi* (Basel, Hyeronimus Froben: 1533).

42 UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 04, 241. Aëtius’s Greek edition was not particularly successful in the sixteenth century. Nutton V., “Humanist surgery”, in French K.R. – Lonie I. M – Wear A. (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1985) 75–87, here 77. The 1534 Venetian edition contained the full Latin translation and the first eight books of the Greek version. Aëtius Amidenus, *Librorum medicinalium tomus primus, primi scilicet libri octo nunc primum in lucem editi* (Venice, Aldo Manuzio and Andrea Asolano: 1534).

43 Maclean I., “The Medical Republic of Letters before the Thirty Years War”, *Intellectual History Review* 18 (2008) 15–30, here 17–18.

44 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 32.

Camerarius a number of texts that prescribed the hygiene standards that both individuals and the community were meant to comply with as a preventive measure.⁴⁵ By sending these specific texts, the Brescian physician intended to support Camerarius in gathering and translating into Latin the reports written by the Italian authorities on the course of the epidemics that had struck the peninsula in 1576–1577.⁴⁶ In other letters, Donzellini promised Camerarius some texts on the plague.⁴⁷ In all these cases, books were sent as gifts.

The letters bear witness to the exchange of printed books but also to the transmission of a significant quantity of manuscripts. On 13 November 1566, Taddeo Duni sent Zwinger the first of the six books forming (at least in theory) his manuscript *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem*.⁴⁸ With this title Duni referred to the work illustrating the rules to be followed when performing a phlebotomy, which would be published in three volumes in Zurich in 1570 under a slightly different title.⁴⁹ The fourth book was printed nine years later.⁵⁰ The fifth and sixth books, which Duni had planned to write, were never published. The Swiss physician spent many years writing and proofreading this treatise.⁵¹ In November 1566, Duni sent Zwinger the first book of his work through Francesco Betti, a Roman exile in Basel who, like Pietro Perna, helped other Italian exiles:⁵²

I also send you, my dear Theodor, through Francesco Betti, the first book (...); and I invite you, as far as possible, to look through it and to state, honestly and candidly, what you think both about the form and the full content.⁵³

45 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 19.

46 The collection *Constitutiones, leges et edicta quaedam tempore pestis anno Christi 1576 et 1577 publice Venetiis et alibi proposita* was published in Camerarius Joachim Jr., *Synopsis quorundam brevium sed perutilium commentariorum de peste* (Nuremberg, Katharina Gerlachin: 1583) H1-H14.

47 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 17, 20, 22.

48 UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 04, 82.

49 Duni Taddeo, *Nova constitutio artis revellendi, derivandi, simpliciterque vacuandi per venae sectionem* (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1570).

50 Duni Taddeo, *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem liber quartus, tribus aliâs editis addendus* (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1579).

51 UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 04, 81, 82, 83, 88.

52 Rotondò A., "L'uso non dommatico della ragione: Agostino Doni", in idem, *Studi di storia ereticale del Cinquecento*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Florence: 2008) 635–700, here 650.

53 UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 04, 82: 'Mitto autem tibi, Theodore suavissime, per Doctorem Franciscum Bettum, librum primum [...]; rogoque quam possum maxime, ut percurrere digneris,

Duni's request for Zwinger's opinion about his work shows the great appreciation he had for his colleague, which he often expressed in his letters.⁵⁴ Furthermore, as he felt indebted to Zwinger, Duni invited him to use his own work if needed,⁵⁵ either to write a treatise on vein dissection or to dispel his doubts or to compare his ideas on the subject.

Zwinger's erudition wove its spell over intellectuals from all over Europe. Italian *physici*, who were trying to get away from the inquisitorial pressure or were looking for a more suitable environment in which to express their cultural vision, looked up to Zwinger mainly because of his openness towards new philosophical and scientific cultural stimuli. Those who thought it was dangerous to publish their works in Italy, due to the cultural control exercised by the ecclesiastical system, sought his help.⁵⁶ For instance, in the early 1580s the philosopher and physician Nicola Antonio Stelliola from Naples sent Zwinger the index of his own work 'on the movement of celestial bodies', hoping that the physician from Basel would have it published. As clearly emerges from the index, the content of Stelliola's work was in contrast to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic tradition as well as closer to Copernican view opposed by the Roman Church.⁵⁷ Zwinger's friends who pursued publishing success also sought his support. Squarcialupi asked for Zwinger's intermediation for the publication of the second edition of his *Ciceronis morales definitiones*, published for the first time in Alba Iulia in 1584.⁵⁸ However, his work did not seem to be very successful, perhaps because it had been published by a house with a small distribution network. When he got back to Switzerland, in 1587, it would seem that Squarcialupi wanted to have it reprinted and, to this end, he would have sent Zwinger the text, who, in turn, would have sent it to his own printers. However, it looks as if the printers had some hesitation in printing the new edition of *Definitiones morales* because they wanted to make sure that it would be profitable. At this point Squarcialupi asked Zwinger to intercede with them on his behalf.⁵⁹ Zwinger's authority also guaranteed the scientific quality of a

et quid tum de forma [...] tum etiam de materia tota sentias, sincere et candide velis iudicare'.

54 Cf. UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 04, 81, 83, 84.

55 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 04, 81, 82.

56 Rotondò A., "Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religiosa di Basilea fra il 1570 e il 1580", in idem, *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale del Cinquecento* (Florence: 1974) 273–391, here 276; Gilly, "Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation" 64–66.

57 De Franco L., "Nicola Antonio Stelliola, Gerolamo Mercuriale e Theodor Zwinger", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance: travaux et documents* 35 (1973) 131–136.

58 Squarcialupi Marcello, *M.T. Ciceronis morales definitiones* (Cluj, Gáspár Heltai: 1584).

59 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 408.

work. Squarcialupi asked his friend from Basel and the members of his cultural circle to write letters in favour of his *Officinae medicae Instauratio* (a text on the bad medical practices of his contemporaries), which the Tuscan physician wanted to show the printers in order to convince them to publish it; in the end, it was never published.⁶⁰

Crato and Squarcialupi also developed a relationship of respect and mutual collaboration. On the one hand, Crato was interested in Squarcialupi's scientific activity: he showed the latter's works to the botanist Rembert Dodoens,⁶¹ and asked Squarcialupi to study certain medical topics of particular interest for him (pus, fever, infection, calculi) in further depth.⁶² On the other hand, Crato proofread Squarcialupi's commentary on the critical edition of the *Thesaurus ciceronianus* by humanist Mario Nizolio⁶³ before its printing in 1576.⁶⁴

Furthermore, Squarcialupi's exile led him to make friends with Andreas Dudith. From February to May 1578, the Tuscan physician was hosted by Dudith in his personal estate in Paskov (in the Czech Republic). Here, the two scholars discussed the passage of a particularly bright comet that appeared in the sky in 1577. As a result of their discussion as well as Dudith's encouragement, Squarcialupi began to write a scientific paper on the phenomenon he had observed.⁶⁵ The article, entitled *De cometa in universum opinio*, was included in a collection of texts concerning nature and meaning of comets, *De cometis dissertationes novae* (1581). Besides Squarcialupi's paper, the volume encompassed articles by Thomas Erastus, Andreas Dudith and Simon Grynaeus.⁶⁶ Squarcialupi branded the belief connecting the appearance of comets with disasters as superstitious – an uncommon position in comparison with the overriding opinion of his day on this topic. From a scientific point of view, Squarcialupi rejected the Aristotelian view that comets were generated by mists emanating from the ground.⁶⁷ Only thanks to his friendship with Dudith, formed during his exile, could Squarcialupi publish his treatise

60 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 403.

61 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 395.

62 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 395.

63 Squarcialupi Marcello, *Nizolius sive Thesaurus ciceronianus, per Marcellum Squarcialupum Plumbinensem digestus et illustratus* (Basel, Eusebius Bischoff: 1576).

64 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 398.

65 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 26, 400.

66 Erastus Thomas, Dudith Andreas, Squarcialupi Marcello, Grynaeus Simon, *De cometis dissertationes novae* (Basel, Leonardus Ostenius: 1580). On the nature and the meaning of comets cf. Vasoli C., "Andreas Dudith-Sbardellati e la disputa sulle comete", in idem, *I miti e gli astri* (Napoli: 1977) 351–387.

67 Madonia, "Marcello Squarcialupi tra Poschiavo e Alba Iulia" 97.

on comets. Despite its limits (drawing on rhetorical arguments and insisting on the most common themes particular to the anti-astrological position), the Tuscan physician showed great coherence and precision in explaining his own view.

3 Letters as an Auxiliary Tool for the Medical Profession

Correspondence was used by physicians as a means of performing part of the medical profession: discussing specific pathologies, but also obtaining specialist objects and instruments (seeds and plant *specimina*, cuttings, pharmaceutical preparations, *simplicia* of vegetable, animal or mineral origin, drug recipes).

On 1 April 1568, Donzellini asked Camerarius for news about his father, Joachim Camerarius the Elder, who suffered from dysuria. On this matter, Donzellini informed Camerarius of the use that was made in Rome of

a particular oil, extracted from multiple quince infusions and decoctions, which has a highly beneficial effect on nephritis, dysuria and urinal burning.⁶⁸

A few months later, Donzellini sent Camerarius two pounds of the quince oil, the 'latest-generation' medicament extremely effective against dysuria, and wrote down the relevant prescription: Joachim Camerarius the Elder was to take one ounce of oil for 12 days, every morning, on an empty stomach. Then, for six days, he was to take one ounce of oil every two days, once again in the morning. Donzellini also added that the stomach and liver had to be freed of harmful residues and fluids transiting through these organs on their way to the kidneys.⁶⁹ This statement implied that Donzellini did not exclude that Camerarius's urination difficulties might have been caused by a kidney problem.

Ten years later, Camerarius consulted Donzellini again because his wife suffered from a persistent headache. Before asking for his friend's help, the German physician had already tried many treatments unsuccessfully, like enemas, painful bindings, suction cups to extract the blood from the head, tablets

68 '[...] oleum quoddam ex pluribus infusionibus ac decoctionibus citoniorum quod in nephritide ac dysuria et ardore urinae rem habet summopere efficacem'. BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 10.

69 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 12.

to be chewed, *errhina* and *ptarmica*.⁷⁰ Painful bindings were compressed strongly around the head, knee or lower abdomen in order to cause discomfort. Together with suction cups for blood extraction, leeches and venesection, painful bindings belonged to the range of remedial treatments enabling blood and other harmful fluids to flow.⁷¹ *Errhina* and *ptarmica* were substances introduced into one's nose in order to stimulate the internal membrane and get rid of superfluous pituitous fluids from the nostrils (what we now call 'mucus'). The difference between the two categories of medicines lay in sneezing: *errhina* stimulated nostrils delicately, whereas *ptarmica* stimulated the nostrils' membranes causing violent sneezes.⁷² Following Camerarius's unsuccessful attempts, Donzellini suggested he perform bloodletting from veins and ears, in order to drain a large quantity of blood. However, should this treatment not have any beneficial effect, then Camerarius would have to give his wife 'theriacam aut mitridatum'.⁷³ Theriac could be used both as a panacea for the treatment of many diseases – due to its exceptional capacity to reabsorb malignant fluids – and also as an excellent antidote to poison. *Mithridatum*, an ancient remedy against headaches of various origin, was nothing but the precursor of theriac, to which the fundamental ingredient of viper flesh was later added.⁷⁴ Donzellini finally assumed that the headache might have been caused by menstrual retention, which prevented the expulsion of the blood in excess and thus needed to be evacuated via a bloodletting.⁷⁵

70 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 25. Camerarius got married three times. The wife Donzellini refers to is Camerarius's third wife, Ursula Camerarius. Adam Melchior, *Vitae Germanorum Medicorum* (Heidelberg, Johann Geyder: 1620) 353. Camerarius's second wife died in 1577, as Donzellini himself attested. (BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 20). On pills to be chewed cf. Paré Ambroise, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey* (London, Richard Cotes: 1649) 725.

71 Heurne Johan van, *Praxis medicinae nova ratio* (Rotterdam, Arnold Leers: 1650) 518.

72 Nenter Georg Philipp – Stahl Georg Ernst, *Fundamenta medicinae theoretico-practica* (Venice, Sebastiano Coletto: 1735) 65.

73 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 25.

74 Olmi G., "Farmacopea antica e moderna. La disputa sulla Teriaca nel Cinquecento bolognese", *Physis* 19 (1977) 197–246, here 200–204; Stannard J. – Dilg P., "Camerarius' contributions to medicine and pharmacy: Observations on his 'De theriacis et mithridateis commentariolus'", in Baron F. (ed.), *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574)* (Munich: 1978) 153–186, here 159–162. On theriac cf. also: Stupar D. – Mirica D., "La thériaque: Médicament et Antidote", *Vesalius* 9, 1 (2003) 28–32; Boudon-Millot V., "La thériaque selon Galien: poison salubre ou remède empoisonné?", in Collard F. – Sammam E. (eds.), *Le corps à l'épreuve, études réunies* (Langres: 2002) 45–56; eadem, "Aux origines de la thériaque: la recette d'Andromaque", *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie* 58, 367 (2010) 261–270.

75 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 25.

The medical advice provided by Donzellini showed his willingness to share his knowledge with a friend and colleague, knowledge that was less jealously guarded compared to previous centuries. It is no coincidence that, during the Middle Ages, the so-called *consilia* (or *recepta* or *remedia*), written by Italian physicians for their patients or to be consulted by practitioners themselves, were also known as *secreta*,⁷⁶ referring to their limited circulation.

The dynamics of professional collaboration are also well illustrated by the pharmaceutical production hothouse developed by Donzellini and his trustworthy apothecary Giovan Andrea Bellicocchi from Verona. This activity, attested by Donzellini and Camerarius's correspondence, concerned both the latter, who sent rock alum (now called 'potash alum') to Italy, and the *archiater* from Leipzig Hieronymus Herold,⁷⁷ who provided Camerarius with the mineral substance. Bellicocchi would prepare two kinds of drugs with rock alum: theriac *trochisci* (tablets) and alum *emplastra* (plasters and ointments). Alum plaster (in Latin 'emplastrum diachalciteos') was obtained by volatilising a mixture of lard, rock alum and vitriol through heat, to which fresh palm branches were added, without the bark. It was applied to bleeding wounds, bone fractures and ulcers.⁷⁸

These medicines were then sold by Bellicocchi in Verona, where he had his own apothecary shop and, via Donzellini, in Venice, a very important market for spices. Furthermore, when Camerarius asked for them, he was usually sent the medicines free of charge. When he did pay for them, he was entitled to a special price.⁷⁹ By agreeing to sell medicines at a lower price compared to that which he would normally apply, Bellicocchi was trying to achieve two apparently contrasting objectives: on the one hand maintaining his friendship with Camerarius, and on the other making a profit. At the same time, the Veronese apothecary was giving himself the opportunity to receive potential favours from the German physician in the future. Lost profits due to the lower price would sooner or later be repaid in a different form by virtue of an unwritten yet binding code of conduct in use among members of the *Respublica medicorum*.

76 Cf. Paolini A., "Libri dei segreti nelle biblioteche del Trentino", in Renzetti E. – Taiani R. (eds.), *Provato e certo: rimedi segreti tra scienza e tradizione* (Trent: 2008) 60–67.

77 Hieronymus Herold, active in Nuremberg, corresponded with Conrad Gesner. Serrai A., *Conrad Gesner*, ed. M. Cochetti with a bibliography of Gesner's works by M. Menato (Rome: 1990) 343.

78 Capasso F. – de Pasquale R. – Grandolini G. (eds.), *Farmacognosia: Botanica, chimica e farmacologia delle piante medicinali* (Milan: 2011) 407; Donzelli Giuseppe, *Teatro farmaceutico e dogmatico, e spagirico* (Rome, Felice Cesaretti: 1677) 479.

79 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 12.

The complex network of relations, goals and strategies involved in the production of medicines is revealed by a letter dated 4 October 1585. Upon Camerarius's request, Donzellini promised to send him Bellicocchi's recipes for theriac tablets and alum plasters. To convince the apothecary to provide the German physician with his recipes, Donzellini insisted on the necessity for Bellicocchi to ensure he had the raw material to produce his drugs in the future (rock alum sent to him by Camerarius). Driven by this need and by his sense of gratitude towards Camerarius, Bellicocchi was willing to reveal to Camerarius the 'artem componendi illa secreta medicamenta' ('the rules for preparing those secret medicines'). Donzellini also told the apothecary that revealing his drugs' composition to Camerarius would not be prejudicial to his interests because the German physician worked in a region that was very far from Verona and would therefore not be a serious competitor on the market.⁸⁰ Finally, Donzellini would normally repay Camerarius and Herold's commitment by sending them a certain amount of seeds for their studies, free of charge.⁸¹ It is also attested that Donzellini sent his theriac to Crato, upon the latter's request, without expecting to be paid.⁸²

4 Reciprocity and Sociability

Gifts and favours were a major feature of social relations within the European community of scholars and did not imply, at least in theory, a gift or favour in return, or the conclusion of binding preventive agreements.⁸³ Those who gave gifts – which could be objects but also the transmission of knowledge and information – did it freely, without expecting anything in return. However, givers relied on their friendship with the recipient or on the latter's sense of gratitude.⁸⁴ Although it was not inextricably linked with an economic logic, giving had its reasons to exist in the social and professional context of the *Respublica medicorum*. Giving was not unrelated to the pursuit of concrete goals: a gift triggered long-term exchanges and established trust relationships that could in turn translate, at the right time, into auxiliary tools for scientific studies (information, drawings, books) or in a more strictly material (pharmaceutical substances, money loans) or professional kinds of aid (interceding with a

80 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 52.

81 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 4.

82 BUW, R. 248, 83, fol. 131r.

83 Zemon Davis N., *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: 2000) 29, 32, 35, 75.

84 Ibidem 29.

printer, giving advice on a patient's treatment). Thus, free book exchanges, or exchanges of other types of objects closely related to the medical profession, aimed at transferring medical knowledge but also at supporting other physicians in the performance of their activities. Moreover, one should pay attention to the fact that an economic return could directly arise from reciprocal exchanges. Donzellini's profits obtained from the trade of theriac in Venice would not have been possible if Camerarius had not sent him the raw material, namely the alum, a substance that was difficult to find in Italy. In turn, when Camerarius specifically requested theriac, he received it from Donzellini free of charge, and consequently he saved money for its purchase.

Relationships among physicians were regulated by social rules similar to those applying to sociability and hospitality among sixteenth-century scholars. Gabriele Jancke studied this context with regard to the Protestant theologian Konrad Pellikan. Indeed, the dynamics of gift and reciprocity were reflected in circumstantial places, times and reasons, but also referred to a code of ethics based on abstract social paradigms. In fact, the offer and receipt of tangible (books and other objects) and intangible (recommendations, betrothals, work contracts, etc.) resources did not have a merely extempore and spontaneous nature. Gifts and favours were framed in a significant social context and affected by the network of social and political relations in which historical players acted.⁸⁵ These remarks acquire an even more important meaning when it comes to *religionis causa* exiled physicians, who had to find a delicate balance between the religious and professional spheres and the social and political context in which they lived. From their point of view, a gift was worth something more than a sense of gratitude or friendship – without diminishing their importance – and could turn into the core of a long-term social and professional strategy. Donzellini's promptness in updating Camerarius on the latest medical literature and informing him about the treatment to be used with his family members was certainly justified by their friendship. But not only: considering the inquisitorial pressure Donzellini had to undergo during his lifetime, it is very likely that, by maintaining his friendship with Camerarius, the physician from Brescia intended to leave a door open in view of a move to Nuremberg, in case he would once again fall victim of the Inquisition. And he could do so with an old, trustworthy friend who, what is more, was indebted to him.⁸⁶

85 Jancke G., *Gastfreundschaft in der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft. Praktiken, Normen und Perspektive von Gelehrten* (Göttingen: 2013) 305–306.

86 In his letter dated 13 March 1587, Donzellini told Camerarius that he was planning to escape from Venice in order to avoid the inquisitorial sentences looming ahead of him, i.e. life imprisonment or death penalty. BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 63.

This sort of 'benefit society' to which medical practitioners belonged and the liberal view of the transmission of knowledge also concerned the 16th-century physicians' attempts to test the therapeutic properties of New World plants. Donzellini, for instance, explored the application fields of the leaves of tobacco, a native plant of the Americas, and shared his results with Camerarius. Donzellini personally tested a tobacco juice-based ointment, which was not listed among traditional therapies, on some of his patients, and described the therapeutic properties he had discovered.⁸⁷ This is a very significant example of the innovation potential of a physician who – despite having been educated in the cult of the ancients (Hippocrates and Galen in particular) – was able to free himself from tradition and experiment with new preparations.

The empirical approach applied to medical studies, adopted since the Middle Ages, became even more widespread starting from the mid-sixteenth century. Michael Stolberg highlights the growing importance that physicians attached to empirical observation and personal experience in the *practica medica* starting around this time. The many notes of the Bohemian physician Georg Handsch (1529–1578), a student of Pietro Andrea Mattioli, show a profound trust in the value of observation for the description of individual clinical cases.⁸⁸ Furthermore, from the 1530s, in his laboratory in Cles (Trent), Mattioli started experimenting with the processing of mineral substances and the preparation of drugs. Insisting on observation and description defines a new form of empiricism, which clearly implies a willingness to amend or adjust acquired knowledge following the discovery of new data.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, by reporting the results of his reproduction of iatrochemistry trials to Peter Monau and Johannes Weidner,⁹⁰ Theodor Zwinger proved to be taking part in this empirical methodology of knowledge production but also to be willing to exchange views with his colleagues.

However, the open approach towards other physicians was contradicted by the frequent and often bitter scientific disputes arising from different opinions among medical practitioners, but also associated with professional rivalries. Physicians themselves were aware of the risk of breaking the *Respublica medicorum's* internal balance involved with these conflicts.

87 BUEr-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 18, 21.

88 Stolberg M., "Empiricism in Sixteenth-Century Medical Practice: The Notebooks of Georg Handsch", *Early Science and Medicine* 18 (2013) 487–516.

89 Ciancio L., "Per questa via s'ascende a maggior seggio". Pietro Andrea Mattioli e le scienze mediche e naturali alla corte di Bernardo Cles", *Studi Trentini. Storia* 94, 1 (2015) 159–183, here 171, 173, 176.

90 Karcher J., *Theodor Zwinger und seine Zeitgenossen* (Basel: 1956) 43.

Girolamo Donzellini, who was asked to intervene in a dispute between Pietro Andrea Mattioli and Conrad Gesner over the identification of the plant *aconitum primum*, tried to tone it down because it could have seriously damaged the *Respublica medicorum*.⁹¹ In 1551, Girolamo Cardano also tried to settle, with a conciliatory attitude, a disagreement between Taddeo Duni and Leonhart Fuchs over phlebotomy.⁹² In his letters to Zwinger, Duni focused on the rules of professional ethics that a scientist was supposed to comply with in such circumstances, rather than on the technical content of the dispute between him and Fuchs.⁹³

5 Conclusion

During the sixteenth century, physicians proved the ability to understand and fully use the potential of correspondence with the conscious aim of feeding their friendship and professional network and to keep up to date with printed medical literature and new therapies. Letters were used to transfer medical knowledge, discuss particular clinical cases, provide *consilia* on specific diseases and related therapies. The increasing correspondence among medical practitioners, and the consequent growth of cultural and scientific exchanges during the sixteenth century, contributed, together with the transmission of published texts, to the creation of a 'public' dimension of knowledge at a time when scientific journals, academies of science and *cafés philosophiques* did not exist. In his letters of 1578, Donzellini described to Camerarius the results of his research on *nux vomica*, a native fruit of the Moluccas and Malabar. Donzellini was not able to find any information on this plant in classic literature, and the apothecaries he consulted were of no help either. Donzellini discovered the characteristics of *nux vomica* during his conversation with an African merchant who had long travelled in the East Indies.⁹⁴ New theories and ideas were also conveyed through correspondence within the *Respublica medicorum*, long before being published. Suffice it to mention a long letter that Squarcialupi sent to Crato on 24 January 1574 in which the Tuscan physician illustrated

91 Delisle C., "The Letter: Private Text or Public Place? The Mattioli-Gesner Controversy about the 'aconitum primum'", *Gesnerus* 61 (2004) 161–176, here 166; Palmer R., "Medical botany in northern Italy in the Renaissance", *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 78 (1985) 149–157, here 155–156.

92 Duni Taddeo, *Epistolae medicinales locis multis auctae* (Zurich, Johann Wolf: 1592) VIII, 36.

93 UBB, *Fr-Gr* II 04, 84.

94 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 23, 25.

(and tried to prove) his pioneering theory on the nature of hiccups. Contrary to Crato's opinion, who followed Galen's literature, Squarcialupi believed that hiccups was not caused by an affection of the stomach but rather by the movement of the diaphragm.⁹⁵

The exchange of technical opinions between Crato and Squarcialupi was conducted through written correspondence. In addition, medical epistemology was transmitted by a variety of means: books, copies of medical notes (*consilia, secreta, excerpta*) as well as empirical practices diffused orally. Therefore, one is naturally led to wonder whether medical knowledge of Italian physicians could 'migrate' to the other side of the Alps through the relationships they had established with their German-speaking peers during their exile. Owing to its complexity, answering such a question is not easy; it will be therefore examined on another occasion. Here, suffice it to say only some significant elements that should be taken into account in regard to this question. First, in order to obtain a complete picture, one should contemplate not only Italian exiles but also non-heretical physicians in touch with their German colleagues. Either way, is it actually possible to distinguish the aspects particular to Italian learning from those specific to German science? As is well known, many German students trained at the University of Padua before going back to their cities of origin and practicing medicine there.⁹⁶ Apart from some specific aspects, such as Paracelsus' doctrines⁹⁷ or the *philosophia naturalis* based on the Lutheran-Melanchthonian view,⁹⁸ medical epistemology was founded on the same theoretical principles on both sides of the Alps. Medicine can be regarded as 'fluid', as it was not only defined by one paradigm but also by a large array of factors that intertwined with each other.⁹⁹ Furthermore, defining

95 BUW, R. 248, 90.

96 Grendler P.F., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: 2011) 31–40.

97 Cf. at least Weeks A., *Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541)* (Leiden – Boston: 2008); Meier P., *Paracelsus. Arzt und Prophet* (Zurich: 1993).

98 Philip Melanchthon published a comment on *De anima* by Aristotle (1541), in which he bases his own natural philosophy and anatomy on the principles of Lutheran doctrine. Cf. Kusakawa S., *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon* (Cambridge: 1995).

99 Medical epistemology was substantially based on the complex Hippocratic-Galenic humoral theory. However, medical science relied on several different sources: classical literature (Galen, Hippocrates, Celsus, Dioscorides, and so forth), Arabic medicine (represented by Avicenna, Averroes and Rhazes), empirical *observationes*, medical humanism, and criticism of Galen's knowledge – to mention only the most important aspects. Furthermore, the therapeutics of learned physicians mixed with peasant knowledge, household remedies, medicines of monastic production as well as medicaments of

geographical boundaries of medical knowledge would be quite an arbitrary act, depriving it of its own meaning. In 1586 Camerarius the Younger published his *Kreutterbuch*, a commentary written in German about *Discorsi nei sei libri della materia medicinale di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo* by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (the first Italian edition of which dates back to 1544).¹⁰⁰ In the same year, the German physician sent Donzellini a copy of his own text.¹⁰¹ These exchanges show that the content of *Discorsi*, which had enjoyed a great diffusion in Germany, came back later to Italy under a new guise. Finally, inquiry into the transfer of medical knowledge should embrace the scientific disputes involving physicians on both sides of the Alps. These debates focused on general issues (the methodology of *ars medendi*, its status as *scientia*, *ars* or a conjectural discipline, the subordination of medicine to *philosophia naturalis*, and so forth) as well as specific themes, such as the effectiveness of theriac against petechial fever, the therapeutic effects of *guaiacum*, and the validity of Paracelsian doctrines. As far as the latter concerns, one might also ask to what extent Paracelsus' theories were taken up by Italian physicians who moved to German-speaking territories, where those doctrines had their roots. The situation varied on a case-by-case basis. Duni's criticism of Paracelsus' followers emerges clearly from his correspondence.¹⁰² As for Donzellini, he owned many texts by Paracelsus probably acquired by Pietro Perna.¹⁰³ It seems that, in the 1570s and 1580s, the Italian physician made efforts to spread those doctrines.¹⁰⁴ However, as Donzellini himself wrote to Crato von Crafftheim in 1585, he did

empiric and popular doctors. Cf. at least Hermann S., *Tomaso Rangone. Arzt, Astrologe und Mäzen im Italien der Renaissance* (Göttingen: 2016) 170–174; Siraisi N., “Renaissance Critiques of Medicine, Physiology, and Anatomy”, in eadem, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Leiden – Boston: 2001) 185–202; eadem, “Giovanni Argenterio and Sixteenth-Century Medical Innovation. Between Princely Patronage and Academic Controversy”, *Osiris* 2, 6 (1990) 161–180.

100 Camerarius Joachim Jr., *Kreutterbuch deß hochgelehrten unnd weitberühmten Herrn D. Petri Andreae Matthioli* (Frankfurt, Sigmund Feyerabend, Peter Fischer and Heinrich Dacken: 1586).

101 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 60.

102 UBB, *Fr-Gr II* 4, 084.

103 Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002) 156; Siraisi N.G., *Communities of Learned Experience. Epistolary Medicine in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: 2013) 35.

104 Bovio Tommaso Zefiriele, *Melampigo, overo Confusione de' medici mofisti, che s'intitolano rationali, ... Di nuovo revisto, corretto, et dal proprio Auttore ampliato* (Verona, Francesco Dalle Donne: 1595) 43v–46r; Perini, *La vita e i tempi* 156; Celati, *Heresy, Medicine and Paracelsianism* 22.

not let himself be truly conquered by Paracelsus' opinions.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, in his letters to Camerarius, Donzellini stated that Paracelsus' theories were lies and argued that his therapeutic remedies were harmful.¹⁰⁶

Let us move now to a final question relating to the possible influence Protestant religious doctrines exercised on the medical knowledge acquired by Italian physicians, exiles in German-speaking territories. There is no evidence so far capable of defining if and to what extent Protestant doctrines acted upon medical knowledge of Donzellini, Squarcialupi and Duni. As for Donzellini, it seems that there was an influence in the opposite direction: in fact, the cultural movement of medical humanism, of which he was a great supporter, could act upon his allegiance to Protestant doctrines. The latter depended on a combination of factors including his own open-minded attitude.¹⁰⁷ Both aspects, his interest in Protestant doctrines on the one hand, and medical humanism on the other contributed to Donzellini's identity as scholar. However, the only case in the medical sciences of the sixteenth century as to which historians have identified an indisputable link between theological views and philosophical-scientific doctrines is Michael Servetus' case. This Spanish physician discovered the lesser circulation of blood through lungs by starting from an inquiry into the soul and its connection with God. In turn, his purpose of comprehending this connection was closely related to his own philosophical-religious view, which embraced diverse trends of the Renaissance as well as the Reformation: neoplatonism, non-trinitarianism, and mysticism. Because of this, blood movement did not represent an incidental observation in Servetus' works, but was instead a substantial part of his *divina philosophia*.¹⁰⁸

In any event, regardless of their religious identity, both Italian and German-speaking physicians were members of the European community of scholars, in which supranational and supra-confessional connections were created. In the light of the cultural dynamics described above, it is possible to conclude that the increase in correspondence among physicians contributed to the

105 Scholz Lorenz, *Epistolarum philosophicarum, medicinalium, ac chymicarum volumen* (Frankfurt, André Wechel, heirs, Claude de Marne and Joahnn Aubry: 1598) 155.

106 BUER-N, *Briefe an Camerarius II* 13, 17.

107 Quaranta, "Umanesimo medico" 31–33. On medical humanism cf. at least in French – Lonie – Wear (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance*.

108 Cf. Bainton R.H., *Hunted Heretic. The Life and Death of Michael Servetus (1511–1553)* (Boston: 1953); Ongaro G., "La scoperta della circolazione polmonare del sangue e la diffusione della 'Christianismi Restitutio' di Michele Serveto nel XVI secolo in Italia e nel Veneto", *Episteme* 5, 1 (1971) 3–44.

self-awareness of the European medical community, which had already started developing due to the creation of *Collegia medica-physica* and the codification of higher educational and professional standards with regard to the practice of medicine.¹⁰⁹ Although physicians belonged to the European community of scholars, they had in fact acquired a body of highly specialized technical knowledge that distinguished them from other scholars. Nonetheless, the *religionis causa* emigration of Italian physicians contributed to cementing cultural and scientific relations between them and their German-speaking peers. Finally, relations among medical practitioners of the *Respublica medicorum* were regulated by a code of ethics – unwritten yet binding – based on the common objective of increasing medical knowledge and characterised by accepted and shared forms of social behaviour. Reciprocity, sociability and a sense of gratitude drove the flows of medical-botanical knowledge between Italy and German-speaking territories.

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109 Cf. Henderson J., *The Renaissance Hospital. Healing the body, healing the soul* (New Haven – London: 2006) 230; Palmer R., *The "Studio" of Venice and Its Graduates in the Sixteenth Century* (Padua – Trieste: 1983) 10, 17.

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Immanuel Tremellius: From Italian Hebraist to International Migrant

Kenneth Austin

At some point in the winter of 1542/1543, a few months after the establishment of the Roman Inquisition, Immanuel Tremellius (Emanuele Tremellio), a converted Jew originally from Ferrara, departed from Lucca, and headed north through the Alps, arriving first in Strasbourg.¹ Over the next almost forty years, he would go on to enjoy a highly distinguished career in exile: he taught at the academy in Strasbourg (1542–1547), the University of Cambridge, where he was Regius Professor (1549–1553), the University of Heidelberg (1562–1577), and finally the University of Sedan in France (1577–1580). In addition to his contributions in the classroom, he was the author of a range of works which helped to advance the field of ‘Christian Hebraica’, that is the study of Jewish materials by Christian scholars. These included his translation of Calvin’s catechism into Hebrew, his translation of the New Testament from Syriac, which he published alongside a Syriac grammar, and his translation of the Old Testament made in conjunction with Franciscus Junius. The edition of the Old Testament, which first appeared in the last years of Tremellius’ life, and which Junius further revised following his death, would go on to become the most successful Latin edition of the Bible to emerge out of the Reformation: more than thirty editions had appeared by the early eighteenth century.²

Although not as famous as some of the others, he was a member of that remarkable cohort of men – including Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562),

1 It has often been asserted that Tremellius left Italy in the company of Peter Martyr Vermigli, who left Italy in August 1542. However, Simler Josias, *Oratio de Vita et Obitu Clarissimi Viri et Praestantissimi Theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermigli* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1563), fol. 9v, makes it quite clear that Martyr’s travelling companion was the similarly, if confusingly, named Theodosius Trebellius.

2 On Tremellius see especially Austin K., *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510–1580)* (Aldershot: 2007). This supercedes two previous nineteenth-century biographies: Butters F., *Emanuel Tremellius, erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums. Eine Lebensskizze zur Feier des dreihundertjährigen Jubiläums dieser Studienanstalt* (Zweibrücken: 1859) and Becker W., *Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselytenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig: 1890).

Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), Pier Paolo Vergerio (1498–1565), Celio Secondo Curione (1503–1569) and Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590) – who departed from Italy during the 1540s, as the confessional divisions affecting Europe began to harden, and the previous ambiguity which they had hitherto exploited started to disappear. As a converted Jew, Tremellius was of course unique amongst this group; nonetheless, in other respects it is reasonable to regard him as part of this wider phenomenon of Italians who made a significant contribution to Protestantism in northern Europe.

This chapter seeks to use Tremellius as a case-study through which to reflect on the experience of migration and exile from Italy in the sixteenth century. It will begin by reconstructing and contextualising the Italian phase of Tremellius' career: while we have relatively little information pertaining to the first three decades of his life, there is enough to establish a basic trajectory, which in turn makes it possible to identify a range of likely influences by which he would have been shaped in these formative years. In the second section this chapter will seek to evaluate the extent to which his subsequent career in exile reflected that Italian background: what were the fruits of Tremellius' migration? What difference did it make that he had spent the first three decades of his life in early sixteenth-century Italy? How did this compare with those contemporaries who had headed north around the same time? The particular issues he faced as a Jewish convert will also be considered here. Finally, in the third section, we will consider Tremellius as a member of a consciously international elite, made up not merely of Italians, but also of individuals from other territories who, in the wake of the Reformation, had their connections to their homeland severed.

While this chapter is principally concerned with examining Tremellius' experiences as a case-study through which to reflect on migration from Italy, it is also intended as a contribution to the wider debate on Italy's place within the Protestant Reformation. A number of historians have emphasised the derivative nature of Italy's Reformation, casting it as a 'failed Reformation', and even a 'non-event', at least when set against northern European models.³ Others, especially Italian scholars, have sought to highlight the particular qualities of Italian (non-Catholic) reform. In his seminal volume, *Italian Heretics of the Sixteenth Century*, first published in 1939, Delio Cantimori argued that Italy's principal contribution to the Reformation came through the disparate group

3 Seidel Menchi S., "Italy", in Scriber B. – Porter R. – Teich M. (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: 1994) 181–201; Gordon B., "Italy", in Pettegree A. (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London – New York: 2000) 277–295; Cameron E., "Italy", in Pettegree A. (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: 1992) 188–214.

of individuals who would go on to enjoy nonconformist careers across Italy.⁴ More recently, others, such as Massimo Firpo, have sought to explore the many indigenous spiritual and intellectual trends circulating in Italy, and to better understand the distinctive character of the Italian Reformation.⁵

The 'Beneficio di Cristo', the most famous text to emerge from this milieu, and published within only a few months of Tremellius' departure from Italy, beautifully exemplifies these competing influences: thought to have been written by Benedetto Fontanini da Mantova, a Benedictine monk, and revised by Marcantonio Flaminio (who we will encounter again below), this highly spiritual work demonstrated the heavy influence (including passages lifted verbatim) of northern Protestant writers, especially Martin Luther and John Calvin, but it also expressed ideas associated with Spanish alumbadism and the Cassinese monastery of Santa Giustina.⁶ This syncretism, which involved combining indigenous and external intellectual trends in an array of individual syntheses was in itself characteristic of the milieu of the so-called 'spirituali'.⁷

As this chapter will seek to demonstrate, Tremellius was very much a product of that same milieu. Equally, though, it will contend that he served as a conduit by which certain aspects of that approach were conveyed to northern Europe; rather than simply being the recipient of influences from the north, Italian reform also exercised a reciprocal influence.

4 Cantimori D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento. Ricerche storiche* (Florence: 1939, 1967).

5 E.g. Firpo M., *Tra alumbados e 'spirituali'. Studi su Juan de Valdés e il Valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano* (Florence: 1990); idem, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Rome: 1993); idem, "The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdés" (trans J. Tedeschi), *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, 2 (1996) 353–364; Collet B., "The Benedictine Origins of a Sixteenth-Century Heresy", *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986–1987) 12–25. For the fullest survey of this phenomenon see Caponetto S., *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, trans. A.C. Tedeschi and J. Tedeschi (Kirksville, MO: 1999).

6 Bozza T. (ed.), *Nuovi studi sulla Riforma in Italia, vol. 1: Il Beneficio di Cristo* (Rome: 1976). For an English translation see Prelowski R., "The *Beneficio di Cristo*", in Gleason E.G. (ed.), *Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ann Arbor, MI: 1981) 103–161. A vast amount has been written about this text. Among the most significant items are: Ginzburg C. and Prosperi A., "Le due redazioni del 'Beneficio di Cristo'", in *Eresia e Riforma nell'Italia del Cinquecento Miscellanea I* (Florence – Chicago, OH: 1974) 135–204; Rosa M., "Il Beneficio di Cristo: interpretazioni a confronto", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 40 (1978) 609–620; Collett B., *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford: 1985) 157–185.

7 Jung E., "On the Nature of Italian Evangelism in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953) 511–527; Gleason E.G., "On the Nature of Sixteenth-Century Evangelism: Scholarship, 1953–1978", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978) 3–25.

1 Tremellius in Italy

The biographer of Immanuel Tremellius is confronted by a frustrating paradox. On the one hand, the first thirty years of his career, which he spent in Italy, is the least well documented phase of an already somewhat elusive life.⁸ On the other, it seems highly probable that this was the most formative period of his life. During these decades he received the education and training on which his subsequent career would be based; he underwent his conversion from Judaism to Christianity; he made the acquaintance of a series of high-profile and influential figures; and it was in this setting, finally, that he came to adopt the particular religious outlook which would characterise the rest of his life. In this first section, then, we will re-examine this period of Tremellius' life with a view to establishing the various influences to which he was exposed, and understanding, as much as one can, his outlook at the point of his departure from Italy.

Tremellius was born in Ferrara in around 1510, and most likely spent the first two decades or so of his life there.⁹ Throughout the sixteenth century, Ferrara was under the control of the Este family, who had been given the title of duke in 1471.¹⁰ Duke Ercole I (r.1471–1505) in particular oversaw the transformation of the city: large parts of the city were remodelled, while an area of perhaps 150,000 square metres of land on the northern side of the old city, the so-called 'Erculean Addition', greatly expanded its perimeter. In this vibrant and modern city, in which churches, palaces, and celebrations both religious and secular

8 This is by no means an unusual state of affairs, and is echoed for many of Tremellius' contemporaries. For instance Schutte A.J., *Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of an Italian Reformer* (Geneva: 1977) 21 notes that 'virtually nothing' is known about Vergerio's life before his appointment as a papal nuncio at the age of 33. In Tremellius' case, it is even more explicable, given both the fact that his move into exile occurred only as he came to the attention of his contemporaries, and the fact that he seems as much as possible to have attempted to avoid the limelight.

9 While this date has generally been accepted without question by Tremellius' biographers, there does not seem to be any evidence to confirm this: rather it seems to be the consequence of knowing that he died in 1580, and that he was said to be about 70 at that time ('Scio tamen cum septuagenarium (plus minus) fuisse', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Dupuy 348 no. 120). Given the lax ways in which ages were calculated, there seems reason to be somewhat sceptical about this date.

10 On Ferrara, see Gundersheimer W.L., *Ferrara. The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, NJ: 1973).

abounded, Tremellius must undoubtedly have appreciated the impact of the Renaissance all around him.¹¹

Tremellius' time in Ferrara most likely fell entirely within the reign of Ercole's son, Alfonso I (r.1505–1534). Alfonso was less interested in the patronage of the arts than his father had been, devoting himself instead to politics, but his second wife, the notorious Lucrezia Borgia, ensured the Este court remained a focus of cultural activity: Raphael, Michelangelo and Titian, for instance, all received commissions within the city. Indeed, Franco Bacchelli has contended that the period between 1520 and 1550 in Ferrara was 'an age of literary, scientific and artistic flowering, no less than the second half of the fifteenth century'.¹² While there is no reason to think that Tremellius was ever at court, he would certainly have been aware of the cultural developments associated with the Renaissance.

An official ghetto would not be established in Ferrara until the seventeenth century, but as a Jew, Tremellius would have been born and raised in one of the predominantly Jewish areas of the city. In fact, Ferrara was one of the more sympathetic areas towards its Jews. While the later Middle Ages had witnessed the periodic expulsions of Jews from different territories – culminating, most famously, in their expulsion from Spain in 1492 – Italy remained one of the few parts of Western Europe where they were still tolerated.¹³ Ferrara, in particular, had been home to Jews since at least the thirteenth century, when they had been invited in to serve as moneylenders. By the time of Tremellius' birth, it had become one of the larger communities in the country: there may have been as many as 2,000 Jews out of a total population of roughly 50,000.¹⁴

The Este generally treated the Jews in their city quite well. Not only had they allowed them to establish a cemetery and to build a synagogue, but they had also sought to mitigate some of the harsher demands (such as forms of taxation, and the obligation to wear badges identifying them as Jews) emanating from the church. That is not to suggest, however, that Ferrara entirely escaped the issues which affected Judaeo-Christian relations elsewhere. As

11 Tuohy T., *Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este, 1471–1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital* (Cambridge: 1996); Rosenberg C.M., *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: 1997).

12 Bacchelli F., "Science, Cosmology and Religion in Ferrara, 1520–1550", in Ciammitti L. – Ostrow S.F. – Settis S. (eds.), *Dosso's Fate: Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles: 1998) 335.

13 Bonfil R., *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley – Los Angeles, CA – London: 1994).

14 Shulvass M.A., *The Jews in the World of the Renaissance* (Leiden: 1973) 21. Israel J.I., *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 1998) 16 suggests the community may only have consisted of about 1000 inhabitants.

moneylenders the Jews were an obvious target for simmering resentment and occasional outbursts of anger. Especially in the wake of the accusations of Jewish child murder in Trent in the 1470s – a tale which was rapidly and widely disseminated around the peninsula and beyond – these tensions became sharper.¹⁵ Indeed, in 1481 in Ferrara, a riot sparked by accusations of child murder culminated in the murder of a Jewish banker. Tremellius was thus a member of a community that was distinct from the Christian majority, but nonetheless still integrated within it, at least in some ways; and this was clearly an ambivalent relationship.¹⁶

Assuming that Tremellius attended the Jewish school in Ferrara, it is highly likely that he would have encountered Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol (c.1452–1528), a Frenchman who had settled in Ferrara in the early 1470s, becoming both the teacher of the Jewish community and also its cantor.¹⁷ David Ruderman has suggested that Farissol's teaching combined the study of grammar, rhetoric and logic with the study of rabbinical and biblical materials.¹⁸ François Tissard, a French humanist, who learned Hebrew from Farissol during a stay in Ferrara, spoke highly of his tutor, praising him, among other things, for his knowledge of Christianity not just his familiarity with Jewish materials.¹⁹ It is certainly tempting to speculate that Tremellius received the initial impetus towards conversion in the company of this Jewish instructor with a perhaps greater sympathy for Christianity than was the norm; at the very least we can say that Tremellius would end up following Farissol in providing instruction to Christians, albeit that he would do so as a Christian himself.

It has frequently been suggested that Tremellius left Ferrara, in order to begin studying the classics at the University of Padua.²⁰ This is certainly plausible: Padua is known to have been one of the most sympathetic institutions

15 Hsia R.P., *The Myth of Ritual Murder. Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, CT – London: 1988).

16 For more on this ambivalence, see for instance Bonfil R.A., "Aliens Within: The Jews and Antijudaism", in Brady Jr. T.A. – Oberman H.A. – Tracy J.D. (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* 2 vols (Leiden: 1994–1995) vol.1, 263–302.

17 Ruderman, D.B., *The World of a Renaissance Jew. The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, OH: 1981).

18 Ruderman, *World of a Renaissance Jew* 18–20.

19 Ruderman, *World of a Renaissance Jew* 104.

20 Butters, *Emanuel Tremellius* is a rare exception: he assumes that Tremellius headed straight from Ferrara to Lucca; Becker, *Immanuel Tremellius* 4–7 does however include this in his account, and in this he has been repeated by almost all accounts down to the present day.

to Jews.²¹ On the other hand, there is no contemporary evidence to substantiate this. Yet this is not conclusive either: not only do we know that Tremellius changed names on his conversion (so we would not know under which name to go looking for him), but as a Jew he would not normally have been allowed to enrol formally at a university, let alone to obtain a degree. In short, then, it remains possible that Tremellius attended university, but we must concede that this is far from certain. Even if he did, it might not have been Padua: after all, Ferrara had its own university.

We do at least have evidence pertaining to Tremellius' conversion, but unfortunately it is partial, written after the event, and not easily reconciled. Indeed, if we are to accept all the information which survives, we may have to imagine that his transition from Judaism to Reformed Protestantism in fact involved three distinct phases. The first element would seem to have taken place in the company of the future Pope Paul III. It comes from a work entitled *Specularius contra Genebrardum*, an anonymous volume often attributed to Tremellius or a close associate, published the year after his death and taking the form of a dialogue between him and Gilbert Générard (1535–1597), a professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris between 1563 and 1578. In it, the character 'Tremellius' asserts that Cardinal Farnese 'took me, by birth a Jew, fifty years ago, into his household when I first passed over to the Christians, drawn by a sure religious knowledge'.²² No date or location is given for this event, though if we can give reasonable credence to the phrase 'fifty years ago', this would allow us to date the episode to roughly 1530; Alessandro Farnese is known to have spent most of his time in Rome as a cardinal, which might make that the most likely setting for this event. Farnese was, moreover, renowned for his sympathy for the Jews.

The second piece of evidence places Tremellius in the company of another cardinal, Reginald Pole (1500–1558), who, having studied at Padua in the 1520s, had returned there in 1532. From there, Pole made regular trips to Venice and Rome. He was made a cardinal by Paul III in 1536, and would in due course become Archbishop of Canterbury.²³ It was most likely on the pope's recommendation that Tremellius made Pole's acquaintance. In a collection of lives of the seventy Archbishops of Canterbury, first published in 1572, and written

21 Di Simone M.R., "Admission", in de Ridder-Symoens H. (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. II: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: 1996) 294–296.

22 Anon., *Specularius, Dialogus pernecessarius, quo se Immanuel Tremellius purgat ab illis criminationibus, quas Gilbertus Genebrardus Theologus Parisiensis divinarum & Hebraicarum literarum Professor Regius, ipsi in Chronographia, seu universae historiae speculo intulerat* (Neustadt: Matthäus Harnisch, 1581) 10–11.

23 On Pole, see Mayer T.F., *Reginald Pole. Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge: 2000).

under the auspices of the current incumbent, Matthew Parker, by then himself a close friend of Tremellius, it is recorded that Tremellius 'often came to the circles around Reginald Pole and the company of Antonio Flaminio. And he was converted from his Jewish stubbornness to Christ in the household of Pole; he also consumed evangelical doctrines, and further he was baptised by Pole and Flaminio within Pole's household'.²⁴ This is perplexing to say the least. Again no date is given, but we know that Flaminio only joined Pole in October 1541, shortly after the cardinal had moved from Padua to Viterbo.²⁵ If Flaminio really was in attendance, Tremellius' baptism must have been one of the first orders of business, as it is likely that Tremellius himself had left this group by the end of the year. It is possible that Tremellius had spent more time with the cardinal in Padua, and that this episode was the culmination of that relationship.

From Pole's household, Tremellius headed to Lucca where he obtained his first formal position, teaching Hebrew at the monastery of San Frediano where Peter Martyr Vermigli had recently become prior.²⁶ It seems likely that Pole had recommended him. Vermigli, moreover, had been part of the circle in Naples of Juan de Valdés, the Spanish exile, which had recently broken up; Flaminio had been part of the same diaspora. Tremellius' stay in Lucca was short-lived, however. Peter Martyr was by this point espousing Protestant ideas in his sermons; works by northern reformers including Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin were all circulating in this group. The creation of the Roman Inquisition in July 1542 suddenly made this a much riskier course of action to be taking. Peter Martyr left Italy in August; over the next few months, he would be followed north by a number of other residents of the monastery, including Tremellius.

It is worth at this stage pausing to reflect on the various influences to which Tremellius had been subjected in these first decades of his life. While he evidently came into contact with representatives of the Catholic Church, including Paul III, in whose company he was persuaded to leave Judaism, he also encountered various members of the group often described as the 'spirituali', who generally proved sympathetic to reformist ideas, including some more closely associated with northern Protestantism. While Pole would narrowly miss out on being elected pope in 1549, and would become Archbishop of

24 [Parker, Matthew?], *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Privilegiis Ecclesiae Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem* 70 (London: John Day, 1572) 410.

25 On Flaminio, see Pastore A., *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milan: 1981). See also the contribution by Giovanni Ferroni in this volume on Flaminio's German readers.

26 McNair P., *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: 1967).

Canterbury in 1556, he was not so reassuringly orthodox when Tremellius had encountered him.²⁷ Not only was he associating with a range of figures himself who would face trials for heresy, or go into exile following the establishment of the Roman Inquisition, but he himself is known to have been sympathetic to the doctrine of justification by faith; indeed, he had been subjected to accusations of heresy himself at the Council of Trent. Likewise, possibly via Flaminio, and certainly via Peter Martyr, Tremellius would have encountered the thought of the Spaniard Juan de Valdés: again frustratingly elusive, Valdés' thought was highly spiritual, concerned with the Christian's inner piety, rather than outward signs of devotion, or the institutional church.²⁸ And certainly in Lucca, and most likely also before, Tremellius had been exposed to quite a wide range of Protestant writings and ideas too.

As the many biographers of the leading figures in these circles have repeatedly acknowledged, it is generally difficult to pin down the beliefs of individuals, let alone to make statements about the group as a whole. Their religious outlooks were highly personalised, often somewhat ambiguous to the outsider, and generally quite fluid. With Tremellius, the situation is still more complicated as he did not author a piece of theological writing at this time from which we might seek to determine his position. Nonetheless, we do know at the very least that he felt it necessary to leave Italy. One must assume that this was more than a case of having associated with the wrong people, as others, including Pole, chose to remain. This would suggest sympathy on his part for heterodox ideas; his subsequent career would serve to support that assumption.

At the same time, though, one should recognise two further factors which would have a bearing on his subsequent career. First, as a converted Jew, his experiences of Judaeo-Christian relations had been remarkably positive, at least in the circumstances of the sixteenth century; had he been born in most parts of Europe, other than Italy, this was rather less likely to have been the case. And secondly, Tremellius' initial exposure to Christianity had taken place in a context where many different strands were being discussed, and combined in a myriad of different and individual ways. Christianity of the sort which permeated the 'spirituali' in the late 1530s and early 1540s was of a very particular sort; again, anywhere else on the continent, he would have had a very different experience. In both regards, then, one can identify ways in which the Italian background played a critical role in shaping the man Tremellius would become.

27 Fenlon D., *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (London: 1972).

28 On Valdés, see for instance Nieto J.C., *Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Geneva: 1970).

2 An Italian Abroad

The extent to which Tremellius was associated with his origins, both in his own age and subsequently, is really quite striking. On occasions this simply served a practical function. For instance, in the matriculation records of the University of Heidelberg he is described as 'Ferrariensis'.²⁹ This was just a statement of fact. But on other occasions, it would seem to have been part of a conscious process of identification. In the dedication of his commentary on Hosea to the Elector Palatine in 1563, Tremellius again identified himself as 'Immanuel Tremellius Ferrariensis'.³⁰ In other works from the same period, and indeed elsewhere in this work, Tremellius tended to describe himself either as a 'doctor of theology' or 'professor at Heidelberg'. But in this preface (to which we will return below), Tremellius began by setting out the trajectory of his career: not only does he explicitly identify himself as a 'migrant', but it would also seem he is keen to place himself as an outsider.

Similarly, in the *Specularius*, discussed above, the character ‘Tremellius’ responds vehemently to G  n  brard’s implication that he is a Capharnait (Caphernaum was a town on the shores of Galilee which was reproached by Christ for its inhabitants’ failure to accept his message, despite the many miracles they had witnessed; it was being used here to represent Jewish stubbornness): ‘Ferrariensis sum, Genebrarde, non Capharnaita’ – ‘I am a Ferraran, G  n  brard, not a Capharnait’.³¹ Understandably, Tremellius was less keen to publicise his Jewish heritage, though it continued to be remarked upon with some regularity. Guzm  n de Silva, the ambassador of Philip II, sent a report from London in March 1568 in which he noted Tremellius’ appearance in England as an envoy of the Duke of Palatine, and described him as ‘the son of a Jew of Mantua’.³² This is particularly telling, as the mention of Mantua was erroneous: evidently, Tremellius’ Jewish background was easier to recall – and perhaps more meaningful – than the particular city from which he had originated.

While this was often simply a way of identifying Tremellius, particularly to those who did not know him, these associations could also be a potential source of prejudice. Perhaps the clearest example of this can be seen in a letter

29 Toepke G., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, 4 vols. (Heidelberg: 1884–1904) vol. 2, 25.

30 Tremellius I., *In Hoseam Prophetam Interpretatio et Enarratio* ([Geneva?]: Nicolas Barbier
and Thomas Courteau, 1563) 3.

31 Anon., *Specularius, Dialogus pernecessarius*, 12. Cf. Matthew 11.20–24, Luke 10.13–15.

32 Guzmán de Silva to the King [Philip II], 27 March 1568, *Calendar of State Papers Spanish* vol. 2, 16–17.

written in 1547 by Pierre Viret, the Reformed theologian, who had been asked to find a job for Tremellius following his departure from Strasbourg. Viret wrote to Guillaume Farel:

As for Tremellius, I do not really know what I can reply to you. There is no post for him here [in Lausanne], and if there were, there are many good and learned men who would not be neglected. At the moment, moreover, the Jews and Italians are spoken badly of in Berne. Often already the same thing that Emanuel seeks from you, he sought from me by letters and through others, especially Calvin: but I was not able to reply other than how things stand.³³

The anti-Jewish sentiment to which Viret alludes should hardly come as a great surprise. As has already been mentioned above, Jews had been expelled from large parts of Western Europe in the preceding centuries – indeed Italy was in some ways an exception to the more general pattern – and those who remained were frequently on the receiving end of vicious and polemical writings, while the threat of violence never fully disappeared. That said, they were not without their supporters. The Holy Roman Emperor, in particular, typically sought to protect the Jews who lived in his territories, while in Josel of Rosheim (c.1480–1554), the ‘shtadlan’ of the German and Polish Jews, the Jews had a particularly effective advocate. Moreover, as Debra Kaplan has demonstrated in her study of Strasbourg – the city which was Tremellius’ first port of call in exile – an odd compromise situation often arose: Jews had been expelled from Strasbourg in the fourteenth century, and that remained the city’s formal position, but in practice Jews entered the city every day, and interacted with the Christian population in many different spheres, through much of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Anti-Judaism was prevalent, but exceptions could still be made.

Tremellius was, of course, a converted Jew (a distinction apparently lost on Viret). In practice, converted Jews could often be regarded with at least as much, if not more, suspicion than Jews themselves, because there was always the suspicion that the conversion had occurred for careerist reasons. While Jews were generally forbidden from holding offices and exerting any influence over Christians, the same rules did not apply to converts from Judaism: indeed, this was often part of the strategy adopted in order to encourage conversion

33 Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel, 24 November 1547, in Calvinus Joannes, *Opera*, eds. Baum W. – Cunitz E. – Reuss E. et al. (Brunswick – Berlin: 1863–1900) no. 969.

34 Kaplan D., *Beyond Expulsion. Jews, Christians and Reformation Strasbourg* (Stanford, CA: 2011).

in the first place. There remained wariness that such ‘converts’ continued to practise the religion of their birth in secret (as so-called ‘crypto-Jews’), and indeed might seek to win Christians over to Judaism too. The fact that Tremellius’ career in exile saw him continuing to work with Jewish materials can hardly have helped to dispel anxieties in this regard.

The significance of this was illustrated by the difficulties which arose when Tremellius was asked in the 1570s by Ambrosius Froben, the Basel printer and grandson of Johann with whom Erasmus had worked around the start of the century, to help him produce an edition of the Talmud (a compendium of Judaism’s oral law, and rabbinic exposition) suitable for Christian consumption. Despite the fact that Tremellius was near the end of his career, and had lived as a Christian for almost forty years, his involvement still aroused suspicion. He wrote to Theodore Beza, Calvin’s successor as head of the church in Geneva, asking him to intervene to defend his reputation, while also withdrawing from the project.³⁵ Similarly, following his death, it was suggested by Catholic opponents that in his last days Tremellius had reverted to the Judaism of his birth, something his Reformed colleagues immediately contradicted.³⁶ In the confessional context of the Reformation, the sincerity of his commitment to his chosen faith – or otherwise – was clearly a matter of importance and worth fighting over.

Equally, and perhaps more surprisingly, there was, as Viret noted, also considerable scepticism about Italians in northern Europe. While Italy was lauded as the home of the Renaissance, it was also regarded with more suspicion as a place from which dangerous ideas emerged. After all, Italy had been the home of that immoral political thinker Niccolò Machiavelli. Henry Heller, among others, has drawn attention to the strong current of anti-Italianism, which manifested itself in France particularly during the Wars of Religion (of which Catherine de’ Medici, the regent as France plunged into several decades of civil war, was only the most visible recipient).³⁷ For Protestants, Italy was increasingly problematic because of its continued adherence to Catholicism. But as Mark Taplin has highlighted, Protestant emigrés from Italy were also highly suspect, above all because of the seeming inability of many of them to conform to

35 Tremellius to Theodore Beza, September/ October 1579, in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, eds. Aubert F. et al. (Geneva: 1960–2017) no.1373.

36 Cappel J., *Les Livrées de Babel, ou l’Histoire du Siège Romain* (Sedan: Jean Jannon, 1616) iii. This episode is discussed more fully in Colomies, Paul, *Italia et Hispania Orientalis* (Hamburg: Jo. Christoph Wolff, 1730) 110–112.

37 Heller H., *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 2003).

the ideological positions expected of them.³⁸ Tremellius' orthodoxy does not in practice seem ever to have become a source of concern for those who met him (a fact which, given his complicated trajectory, is remarkable in itself), but in this instance clearly his reputation as an Italian preceded him.

The extent to which Tremellius' Italian origins shaped his subsequent career is quite hard to determine. Remarkably, and at the most basic level, we do not know what level of proficiency he achieved in Italian. It was presumably the language he used on a daily basis in his early life, but it is unclear whether he continued to use this language, even with his fellow Italians; Latin may well have sufficed. Certainly numerous contemporaries praised him for his linguistic abilities. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, an English ambassador at the French court, recommended Tremellius to Queen Elizabeth as a potential diplomat in her service, noting among other things that 'for his skills in many tongues [he is] much to be made of'.³⁹ Likewise, in the biography of the French Protestant theologian Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (who had learnt Hebrew from Tremellius), written by the Frenchman's wife, Tremellius is praised as 'a man of Christianity who knew many languages but was particularly excellent at Hebrew'.⁴⁰ The vast majority of Tremellius' extant correspondence is in Latin, but we do have at least one letter written by him in French;⁴¹ there is no Italian equivalent.

In his published writings too, Latin unsurprisingly dominates; equally unsurprisingly, the other languages he most commonly uses are Hebrew (and other Semitic languages) and Greek. But on occasions he does also use contemporary languages. This is the case especially in the annotations with which he supplements his biblical translations. Allusions to modern expressions and usage are occasionally used to help gloss a particular word or phrase. For instance, in the edition of his New Testament translated from Syriac, there are seven notes on the book of Romans in which he makes reference to other languages: five of these are to French, one to German, and one to Italian. On

38 Taplin M., *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c.1540–1620* (Abingdon: 2003). See also Overell M.A., *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Abingdon: 2008), and Michele Camaioni's contribution on Ochino in this volume.

39 Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth of England, 9 May 1561, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign (1561–1562)* no. 189.

40 *Les memoires de Madame de Mornay*, ed. N. Kuperty-Tsur (Paris: 2010) 82–83, cited in Weinberg J., "Crossroads in Hebraism: Johann Buxtorf Gives a Hebrew Lesson to Philippe Duplessis-Mornay", in Mandelbrote S. – Weinberg J., *Jewish Books and their Readers. Aspects of the Intellectual Life of Christians and Jews in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2016) 156.

41 This was Tremellius' letter to Beza discussed above, no. 1373.

Romans 3.6 ('By no means! If God is not just, how can he judge the world?'), on 'alioquin' ('in other respects', 'otherwise'), the annotation reads 'Syre. Et si non. Sic Itali quoque loquuntur' ('Syriac. And if not. Thus the Italians also say').⁴² On Hebrews, there is only one annotation which mentions modern languages, and that refers only to the equivalents of an expression in French and German. On the Gospel of John there are several references to French expressions, but also one to Italian. On John 6.7, relating to the feeding of the 5,000 ('Philip answered, "For everyone to have even a little (*minimum*) it would take more than two hundred silver coins to buy enough bread"'), Tremellius' annotation reads: 'Ad verb[um]. Parum paru[m], unus unus: sed geminatio diminutione[m] adaugēt ex usu Hebraea [sic] lingua. Itali *Un pochetino*'. This is an admittedly small sample on which to make any judgements: while it does not discount the possibility of fluency in Italian, nor does it fully support that conjecture, and if any weight is given to the relative frequency of usage, it would suggest that Tremellius felt more comfortable with French and German than with Italian.

Tremellius' edition of the Old Testament is arguably the best single source for evaluating his outlook and range of reference points, but it is also a problematic source for at least two main reasons. First, it was a collaborative enterprise, composed in conjunction with Franciscus Junius. Tremellius was undoubtedly the senior figure, but he was also continuing to lecture at Heidelberg University so Junius may have been able to devote more time to the project; unfortunately they say nothing about the division of their labours. Secondly, this was a project which took many forms. The first edition of the Old Testament appeared in five volumes between 1575 and 1579, very much towards the end of Tremellius' life. But, following Tremellius' death, Junius was responsible for several revised editions. With a view to best gauging Tremellius' contribution, it makes sense to focus on the earliest editions of this text.

Based on a sample of books from the Old Testament edition, I have sought to identify which authors and texts are cited by Tremellius and Junius in their annotations. Here, we have a very clear predominance of classical authors. Typically, only the authors' names are given, though on occasion the brief title of the work is included (and still more rarely a chapter reference). These include references to Pliny's *Natural History*, Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Ovid, Cicero and Dioscorides. In the main, these are used to help gloss place names mentioned in particular books of the Old Testament. The impression one gets is that Tremellius and Junius are seeking to locate the events described there as fully as possible within a historical and geographical reality. They do not, by contrast, appear to make reference to any recent or contemporary sources, at

42 Tremellius I., *Testamentum Novum* ([Geneva]: Henri Estienne, 1569).

least in the sample of books which I have reviewed. While Tremellius almost certainly read a range of Italian authors, he unfortunately does not refer to them in his Old Testament annotations.

Explicit theological discussion – at least in the sense of lengthy digressions – is not a feature of the Tremellius-Junius biblical editions; the principal intention is evidently to make the meaning of the text more apparent. But of course this is a very subtle distinction: any exposition of the biblical text implied a degree of theological engagement. Nonetheless, one can identify at least two recurrent features of the way in which the text is handled which might reflect Tremellius' Italian experiences. First, there is a tendency towards Christological readings of various passages in the Old Testament. For instance, on Genesis 17.7, where the Lord made his Covenant with Abraham, on 'everlasting covenant', Tremellius writes 'hoc est, in Christo (sive ad Christum sola fide, sive etiam carne pertineant) quod ad substantiam perpetuo continuandum, et si mutabilibus symbolis'.

Similarly, in Genesis 22, Abraham's readiness to sacrifice Isaac is related closely to Christ, both in the brief summary with which that chapter is introduced, and on two particular verses: throughout, the blessings which will come to Abraham's descendants for following God's instructions are attributed to Christ. This Christological emphasis, which incidentally might evoke the *Beneficio di Cristo*, of course was entirely conventional in Christian circles; but for Tremellius, as a converted Jew, it arguably had a particular significance, as a way of demonstrating that he approached the Old Testament in the way that a Christian would. Also possibly suggestive of this background is the quite marked Trinitarian dimension to the Tremellius-Junius Bible. Here one imagines that Tremellius was seeking to distance himself from the anti-Trinitarian strand of thought with which a number of the Italian 'heretics' were associated.⁴³

However, it was above all as a Hebraist that Tremellius made his contribution in exile. In this he was at the forefront of a new development in the period. The Renaissance and Reformation had both contributed to a renewed interest in learning Hebrew. In the Renaissance, the ideal of the trilingual scholar, versed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, emerged. They sought to approach the sources of Christianity, including the Old Testament, and other writings from that time, and to apply the same techniques as humanists had done with the sources of Christian antiquity. This was given a further impetus by the Reformation,

43 On anti-Trinitarianism in Venice see Martin J., *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1993).

in which a proper understanding of the bible was weaponised in the conflict between the competing Protestant and Catholic churches.⁴⁴

Despite some limited efforts in the Middle Ages – most notably the decree of the Council of Vienne of 1311 which sought to establish chairs of oriental languages at universities of Europe – it was only in the sixteenth century that Hebrew education properly found a place in the academies and universities of northern Europe. Until that point, those who wished to learn Hebrew had had to rely on Jews and Jewish converts. Indeed, many of those who played formative roles in the development of Christian Hebraica had acquired their own knowledge in this way. But with the Reformation, trilingual education came increasingly to be seen as necessary for those wishing to undertake biblical exegesis, or indeed for those wishing to enter the ministry. Luther's new University of Wittenberg managed to acquire the Jewish convert Matthew Adrian as its first Professor of Hebrew, and other institutions followed suit. Conrad Pellikan, one of Adrian's students, would teach Hebrew in Zurich from the 1520s; Imbert Pécot began teaching Hebrew at the Academy of Lausanne in 1538; Paul Fagius was appointed Professor of Hebrew in Strasbourg in 1544.⁴⁵

This development was in a sense the key transformation which made Tremellius' exilic career possible. He was very much in the vanguard of a still relatively nascent discipline. He was, after Thomas Wakefield and Paul Fagius, only the third Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge, for instance, and he was among those in the running to become the first professor of Hebrew at the Academy of Geneva, when it was founded in 1559: Calvin was evidently keen to attract him to the post, but Tremellius was unable at that point to leave his position as tutor to the children of the Duke of Zweibrücken.⁴⁶ With the rapid expansion of the number of academies and universities, many of which sought to teach Hebrew, there were barely enough suitably qualified individuals to take on these roles. This goes a long way to explaining the success of someone as proficient as Tremellius.

44 See, for instance, Jones G.L., *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: 1983).

45 On these themes see, for instance, Friedman J., *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: 1983), Bell D.P. – Burnett S. (eds.), *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Leiden: 2006) and Burnett S., *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden: 2012).

46 The negotiations can be traced in the following letters: John Calvin to Tremellius, 29 August 1558, in *Opera* 2944; Genevan Senate to the Duke of Zweibrücken, October [1558], *Opera* 4191; John Calvin to Francis Boisnormand, 27 March 1559, *Opera* 3030.

Such activity was not without its difficulties. Accusations of 'judaising', that is demonstrating undue sympathy for Judaism, or indeed covert practice of that faith, were levelled at many who worked with Jewish materials. Such allegations were no doubt even more telling against those who were Jewish converts and about whose sincerity as Christians there might remain doubts. It is tempting to see Tremellius' contribution to the so-called 'Jewish mission', particularly through his translation of Calvin's catechism into Hebrew ostensibly with the hope of tempting Jews to convert to Christianity, as at least in part a pragmatic response to this situation. Nonetheless, it remains striking that Tremellius did not ever turn against his former brethren, as so many Jewish converts did. The generally positive relations between Christians and Jews that he experienced in the earliest decades of his life may have contributed to this approach.

Tremellius' role as a teacher was also not restricted to the classroom. A further important development in this period, partly to make the learning of languages something that could be achieved more broadly, but also to break the dependence on Jews, was the production of grammars and dictionaries. Pioneering Hebraists such as Johannes Reuchlin and Conrad Pellikan, among others, produced such works early in the sixteenth century. By the time that Tremellius came to northern Europe there was less need for yet another Hebrew grammar. Instead, he was responsible for a Syriac grammar, which was first printed as an accompaniment to his edition of the New Testament, which he had translated from that language. In subsequent editions of his complete bible, this was often printed alongside Beza's translation of the New Testament from Greek (though this practice would eventually stop when scholars came to realise that the claims about how old the Syriac version was had been exaggerated).⁴⁷

In exile, then, Tremellius made contributions in a range of fields. Perhaps most obvious was his teaching, conducted in classrooms in Germany, France and England, across a period of almost forty years: several generations of students benefited from his instruction. But alongside this were his written works, again spanning a range of genres, including biblical translations, a grammatical work, and a volume which contributed to the Jewish mission. Perhaps inevitably given his area of expertise, it is much easier to trace the influence of his Jewish background, than his Italian origins, but the latter should not be overlooked. There are still traces of that influence and, as we have seen, he continued to be identified as both an Italian and a Jew; at the same time, it was perhaps his ability to distance himself from some of the supposedly Italian

47 More than a dozen editions incorporated Tremellius' translation from Syriac; the last one appeared in 1630.

characteristics which most irritated the northern reformers that eased his entry into that world. A product of the same syncretic world of ideas, Tremellius chose to conceal his personal viewpoints – seeking to avoid drawing undue attention to himself given his vulnerability as a converted Jew – where other Italians sought to express their nonconformist thought more freely.

3 Tremellius as a Migrant

Exclusive focus on the academic achievements of those figures who became exiles arguably risks overlooking the personal and emotional hardships they had to endure once they left the country of their birth. This is especially relevant for a figure such as Tremellius. Not only would he never return to the country of his birth but, so far as we know, he effectively severed all contacts with his family and the community of his birth. There was thus very much a sense of him being on his own, and the need to build a new life for himself in exile. In this final section we consider rather more fully what it was like for Tremellius to forge a career as an international migrant.

To do so, Tremellius adopted three main strategies. First, he succeeded in establishing a new family. In fact, this seems to have been a fairly rapid development. Having likely only arrived in Strasbourg in early 1543, it was recorded that he had married a divorcee named Elisabeth in October 1544.⁴⁸ Elisabeth brought with her at least one daughter. This daughter would, in turn, go on to marry Antoine Chevallier, another Hebraist, and someone with whom Tremellius would work closely in Cambridge in the early 1550s. In addition, it is evident that Tremellius and Elisabeth had at least one child together: an 'Immanuel Tremellius junior' appears in the matriculation records for Heidelberg University in 1561.⁴⁹ As this boy was presumably around the age of 15 at this stage, we can deduce that he had been born in the late 1540s, and most likely while Tremellius was still in Strasbourg. One imagines, further, that his growing family helped to address any sense of isolation that Tremellius might have felt.

Secondly, Tremellius needed to ensure that he was able to make ends meet. Indeed, with a young family to provide for, this was even more pressing. In this regard, the fact that he was in almost constant employment, albeit one of many phases, testifies both to the high demand for the skills which he provided, but

48 Valerand Poullain to John Calvin, 13 October 1544, *Opera* 577.

49 Entry No. 105 for the year 1560–1561. See Toepke G., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662* (Heidelberg: 1884–1904) vol. 2, 26.

also his readiness to work. And to this can be added his efforts to obtain additional sources of income whenever possible. In England, for instance, through the intervention of William Cecil, Tremellius was awarded the prebend of Carlisle Cathedral, which brought with it a sum of money but no additional responsibilities. In Heidelberg meanwhile, Tremellius is known to have had a number of students, including Duplessis-Mornay, lodge with him, as was the custom of the time. The students would pay a fee for their board and lodgings. It is highly likely that Tremellius used the same arrangements elsewhere too.

Third, Tremellius was also successful in building up a network of friends and allies. These likely served different, if often overlapping, functions. A first group consisted of especially well-connected individuals. In Italy, as we have seen, these included the future Pope Paul III, and Cardinal Reginald Pole, the future archbishop of Canterbury. In exile, these included Matthew Parker, another archbishop of Canterbury, statesmen such as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and William Cecil, and leading reformers like John Calvin and Theodore Beza. Especially because he was a convert, but also and more simply an unknown quantity, these men and others needed to vouch for Tremellius: for both his abilities and his sincerity. Without their approval it is impossible to imagine that he would have enjoyed anywhere near as successful a career.

A further group, though, consisted of friends and other scholars. While they may occasionally have put in a good word for him, or aided a scholarly endeavour, these were relationships based more on equality. In fact, many of them would themselves have been exiles. These included fellow Italians such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, Girolamo Zanchi and Count Massimiliano Celso Martinenghi, all of whom made the journey from Lucca to Strasbourg. Others were people he encountered on his travels. These included men like Paul Fagius, who he would succeed as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and Martin Bucer, whose Cambridge lectures on Ephesians he would subsequently publish, both of whom he first encountered in Strasbourg.

Importantly, we should note that while many of these relationships were inevitably with fellow Italians, with whom Tremellius had much in common, other key relationships cut across national boundaries. Especially as his exilic career advanced, his connections to his homeland diminished: family members would have died, memories likely dimmed, and we get no sense of nostalgia or home-sickness from his writings. Instead, Tremellius and others like him may well have started to think of themselves as international figures, with deep roots in no territory. The shared experience of dislocation might on occasion then be compounded by more practical considerations.

Especially where communities were small, it was not always possible to maintain distinct national churches. We can see this, for instance, in Heidelberg, where Tremellius and his wife were evidently actively involved in

the French church of the city, which expanded following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572, an event which seriously damaged Protestant hopes in the French Wars of Religion. The records of that church demonstrate that Tremellius served as godfather to half a dozen members of that church: Daniel Taffin (1569), Jan Lagereau (1570), Anne Gremecieux (1573), Charles Pie (Carlo Pio) Zanchi, the son of Tremellius' colleague Girolamo Zanchi (1574), Emmanuel Boulenger (1574) and Emmanuel Godin (1577).⁵⁰ At the very least, Tremellius shared with these individuals the experience of having been forced to leave their homeland.

Heiko Oberman has famously talked of the 'Reformation of the refugees'.⁵¹ This terminology certainly seems to apply to Tremellius, and many of his fellow travellers. Indeed, for the Italians it may have been even more pronounced. While John Calvin and many of the people who attended the Genevan academy may have hoped ultimately to return to the country of their birth, this was not likely a feeling shared by most Italian exiles, given that there was very little encouragement for those who might have hoped their homeland would accept the Reformation. Indeed, with the failure of the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541 (the last of a series of such meetings intended to achieve agreement between Catholics and Protestants), the establishment of the Inquisition in 1542, and the beginning of the Council of Trent in 1545, battle lines were hardening, and hopes of a rapprochement rapidly dwindling.

Quite what impact this had on the exiles themselves, and on Reformed culture more broadly, can only partly be gauged. The sense of dislocation we have already touched upon. Tremellius does on more than one occasion identify himself as a migrant. And certainly his exilic career involved a considerable amount of time on the road. His career was characterised by a series of relatively short-term postings. The principal exception to this was the time he spent in Heidelberg between 1562 and 1577 (and even that involved a trip to Elizabethan England). As a result he can never really have felt very secure, or properly able to put down roots. Indeed, one must assume as well that he had relatively few possessions. In that sense he perhaps accords either with the traditional idea of the wandering Jew, or indeed with the experiences of religious refugees more generally, as recently discussed by Terpstra.⁵² Finally, he

50 Von den Velden A., *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg 1569–1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz 1577–1596* (Weimar: 1908). I am most grateful to Cornel Zwierlein for bringing this to my attention.

51 Oberman H.A., "Europa afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992) 91–111.

52 Terpstra N., *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World. An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: 2015).

may well have found living in northern Europe rather trying, given that he had spent the first three decades of his life in Italy. Fellow travellers, for instance, complained both of the cold and the poor weather, particularly when they arrived in England.

But if exile brought with it obstacles and hardships, it also no doubt contributed in positive ways too. There was a sense both that this was a collective endeavour, and indeed an international enterprise. The shared language of Latin – but also a readiness to use other languages – and the correspondence and friendship networks which linked them, all served to bind this group together. As exiles on the road, they encountered their fellow believers in person, rather than merely through their writings and correspondence. Their experience of difficulties can only have further sharpened their awareness of the difficulties of life, and one's dependence on God. The shifting fortunes of the Reformed faith, as it won, and then lost, ground must have intensified their sense that this was an ongoing struggle, to which they needed fully to commit themselves. Encountering others who had made similar sacrifices must also have sharpened their commitment to the cause. Indeed, one wonders whether they may on occasion have felt they had suffered more for their faith than those others who had the luxury of living their lives in the country of their birth.

4 Conclusion

When Tremellius left Italy in the early 1540s, he must have done so with some reservations. He had only recently converted to Christianity, and may have had some lingering doubts about the decision he had made. As a convert from Judaism, moreover, he must have wondered about the reception he would face. But in the event, as we have seen, this momentous decision did work out for him. He built a new life for himself in exile, acquiring a new set of friends and building up a family. He also pieced together a highly successful professional career, involving almost non-stop employment, and producing a range of significant titles in the realm of Christian Hebraica. Like other members of the same diaspora, he made a major – if often undervalued – contribution to the northern Reformation. The direct traces of the specifically Italian nature of that contribution are few and far between, though I would suggest they are still discernible; those as a former Jew and Hebraist are much clearer and easier to appreciate. Nonetheless, it is the combination of the two which characterises Tremellius' particular role. At the same time, though, he also exemplifies the broader ways in which Italy – and Italians – made an impact on the Reformation in the north, as much as it had been a recipient of impulses which had stemmed from there in the first place.

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Bernardino Ochino and the German Reformation: The Augsburg Sermons and *Flugschriften* of an Italian Heretic (1543–1560)

Michele Camaioni

1 Introduction: the Emperor and the Preacher

The pacific surrender of Augsburg in January 1547 marked a crucial event in the war waged by the Emperor Charles v against the Schmalkaldic League, an alliance of Protestant polities that had been assembled by John Frederick I, Prince-Elector of Saxony, and Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse in order to preserve German liberties against the hegemonic agenda of the Habsburgs. Having neutralized the threat of a broad rebellion in Upper Germany through separate peace agreements with Augsburg and the other Imperial Cities of the region, the Emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, were victorious against the forces of Electoral Saxony in the well-known battle fought at Mühlberg in April 1547, thus also bending Northern Germany to their will.¹

What in the accounts of the siege and of the bloodless capitulation of Augsburg is often overlooked, or even not mentioned by scholars, is that one of the peace conditions imposed on the city council by Charles v was the extradition of two men to the Imperial authorities. The first was Sebastian von Schertlin, the commander of the Schmalkaldic troops in southern Germany, who had supported the line of hard resistance to the Emperor against the more tactful and shrewd attitude of Augsburg's ruling oligarchy. The second man was named Bernardino Ochino. He was from the Republic of Siena, where a rebellion against the Empire was about to start. He was not a military leader, a political figure, nor someone with an important position. Instead, he was a simple preacher, although not an unknown one. To Catholics, in fact, he was someone once considered holy, who had shockingly become a treacherous and dangerous heresiarch. One of the first Capuchins, Ochino had gained great

1 See Close C.W., *The Negotiated Reformation. Imperial Cities and the Politics of Urban Reform, 1525–1550* (Cambridge: 2009) 18–19, 209–247 and for further bibliography also Waley J., *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1: *From Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia 1493–1648* (Oxford: 2012) 319–320.

reputation from the Italian pulpits until 1542, when, at the time of the establishment of the Roman Inquisition and of the Council of Trent, he came under suspicion of heresy and was forced to escape the peninsula *religionis causa*. Firstly in Calvin's Geneva and then in Augsburg, where he arrived in October 1545, he continued to preach, supporting the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone and addressing sharp criticism against the Roman Church and the Pope, labeled in his sermons and writings as the living Antichrist.²

When the Emperor asked the city council to leave Ochino in his hands, the councilors of Augsburg, who supported the preacher, secretly permitted him to flee from the city.³ Before this, the influential Catholic businessman Anton Fugger, and the leader of Augsburg political Protestantism, Jacob Herbrot, had tried in vain to intercede for him with Charles v.⁴ A small episode within the larger picture of the so-called Schmalkaldic war, the request of an Italian preacher made by the Emperor, arouses the curiosity of the early modern scholar who aims at investigating the relationship that migrants coming from the Italian peninsula established with the German cultural, political and religious environment. Why did Charles v pay so much attention to the fate of a former Italian Capuchin, now sixty years old, who could not speak a word in German and in Augsburg was just able to preach in his own tongue to a small audience of tradesmen and bourgeois who understood Italian? And why did two of the most powerful men in the whole German lands protect him? In order to answer such questions, it is worth retracing briefly Ochino's activities within the urban context of Augsburg during his one-and-a-half-year stay in this Swabian city, a period that, as said, corresponded to the closing phase of the Schmalkaldic war.

2 On this period of Ochino's life, see Benrath K., *Bernardino Ochino, of Siena. A contribution towards the history of the Reformation*, translated by H. Zimmern (London: 1876) (see also the revised German edition, Braunschweig: 1892²) 148–182; Bainton R.H., *Bernardino Ochino esule e riformatore senese del Cinquecento 1487–1563* (Florence: 1940) 63–87; Camaioni M., *Il Vangelo e l'Anticristo. Bernardino Ochino tra francescanesimo ed eresia (1487–1547)* (Bologna: 2018).

3 See Francisco de Enzinas, *Epistolario*, ed. I.J. García Pinilla (Geneva: 1995) 176–177 (Enzinas to H. Bullinger, St. Gallen, 31 January 1547).

4 See Hecker P., "Der Augsburger Bürgermeister Jacob Herbrot und der Sturz des zünftischen Regiments in Augsburg", *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 1 (1874) 34–98, here 50, 53; "Die Korrespondenz der Stadt Augsburg mit Karl V im Ausgang des schmalkaldischen Krieges", *ibidem* 257–309; Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 77, 85–86. On Anton Fugger, see Pölnitz G. v., *Anton Fugger*, 5 vols. (Tübingen: 1958–1986), vol. 2, 120, 377, 386 for the Ochino's *affaire*; Idem, *Anton Fugger (1493–1560). Vorträge und Dokumentation zum fünfshundertjährigen Jubiläum*, ed. J. Burkhardt (Weißenhorn: 1994).

2 Bernardino Ochino in Augsburg (Aug. 1545–Jan. 1547): between Merchants, Humanists, Evangelical Preachers and Radicals

Ochino was not the first heterodox Italian Franciscan who found harborage and a receptive audience in the prosperous Imperial city of Augsburg. In 1531, and again 1536, the Venetian Bartolomeo Fonzio, one of the first translators of Martin Luther into Italian, had been welcomed in the city and preached in Italian to an audience of around two hundred people citizens.⁵ That such a number of people could attend and properly follow a sermon given in Italian is not surprising. As a matter of fact, Augsburg hosted the headquarters of some of the most important European trading companies of the early modern period, like those supervised by the Fugger and Welser merchant dynasties.⁶ As a pivotal crossroads of international trade, Italy, and especially the Republic of Venice, represented a usual field for Augsburg's commercial agents. Some of them were Italians. Others travelled frequently throughout the peninsula and spent time in Venice, where the *Fondaco dei tedeschi*, a sort of guild-hall of German merchants, was a crucial spot in the commercial and information network that connected Northern Italy, Upper Germany and the Habsburgs lands in the sixteenth century.⁷

In 1545, this dynamic community of German tradesmen and notables, for whom knowledge of Latin and Italian was an essential working tool, provided shelter and economic support to Ochino. The Sienese was not a perfect stranger to all the Augsburgers, as probably some of them had already attended the widely appreciated Lenten sermons he had given as a Capuchin in Venice in 1539 and 1542. In exchange for their help, they asked the former Franciscan, even though he was not able to speak German, to preach again for them in

5 Cf. Roth F., *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte*, 4 vols. (Munich: 1901–1911), vol. 2, 36, 43; Fragnito G., “Fonzio, Bartolomeo”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 48 (1997) 769–773.

6 Cf. Häberlein M., *Aufbruch ins globale Zeitalter. Die Handelswelt der Fugger und Welser* (Darmstadt: 2016). See also, by the same author, *The Fugger of Augsburg. Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: 2012; German edition Stuttgart: 2006).

7 Cf. Simonsfeld H., *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1887); Lupprian K.-E., “Zur Entstehung des Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig”, in W. Schlögl et al. (eds.), *Grundwissenschaften und Geschichte. Festschrift für Peter Acht* (Kallmünz: 1976) 128–134; Braunstein P., “Erscheinungsformen einer Kollektividentität: die Bewohner des Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig (12.–17. Jahrhundert)”, in U. Bestmann (ed.), *Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsräume, Innovationen. Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stomer* (Trier: 1987) vol. 1, 411–420.

Augsburg in his own language.⁸ For this purpose, they obtained from the City Council the appointment of Ochino as preacher to the church of Saint Anne, where the Italian community gathered.⁹ Ochino was provided with a salary of two hundred guilders which allowed him to adequately support his family.¹⁰ In the *Risposta* written shortly after his arrival in Augsburg to the Dominican theologian Ambrogio Catarino Politi, who in a treatise published in Rome had polemically referred to the alleged disrepute Ochino was suffering outside Italy, the preacher proudly replied: 'I am here in Augsburg, and I have from the venerable Senate of this city the resources that I need to live in a decent way, and not for my religious hat but for the explanation of the Holy Scriptures; and I am so welcome here that I could not imagine what to wish more.'¹¹

Politi's allusion to the hardship suffered by Ochino during the first years of his exile probably referred to his stay in Geneva and derived from dispatches and leaks that actually circulated within the Catholic information networks. According to such rumors, Ochino's early residence in Augsburg was probably difficult as well. Writing in November 1545 to the Cardinal-Nephew Alessandro Farnese, the Cardinal of Augsburg Otto Truchsess von Waldburg argued that 'the ex-friar Bernardino from Siena has come to Augsburg from Strasbourg as a poor man, almost like a beggar. He has no income, no secure salary from which

8 On Ochino's problems with the German language, see the letter written on 20 October 1545 by the city secretary Georg Frölich to Heinrich Bullinger: 'De Bernhartino Senensi, qui aliquot annos Genephae Christum predicavit et papatum viriliter expugnavit, vir et doctrina et vita venerabilis, iam Augustam venit eius animi, ut sedem sibi hic firmam faciat. Nos etiam virum hunc non dimitemus, quamquam propter Germane linguae imperitiam non poterit publica onera ecclesie ferre' (*Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, vol. 15: *Briefe des Jahres 1545*, ed. R. Bodenmann et al. [Zürich: 2013] 597).

9 See Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte*, vols. III–IV, *ad nomen*; Kießling R., "Eine 'Doppelgemeinde': St. Moritz und St. Anna", in R. Kießling – T.M. Safley – L. Palmer Wandel (eds.), *Im Ringen um die Reformation. Kirchen und Prädikanten, Rat und Gemeinden in Augsburg* (Epfendorf/Neckar: 2011) 105–172, here 147, 170.

10 When he arrived in Augsburg, Ochino was accompanied by his sister and his brother-in-law. Later he was joined by his wife and his first daughter, who was probably born in Geneva. See the Council decrees of 20 October and 3 December 1545, first published by Johann Georg Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur*, vol. 3 (Ulm, Bartholomei: 1774) 1141–42.

11 'Io mi trovo in Augusta, et ho da questo eccelso Senato, [quel] tanto che mi basta per viver nel stato che mi trovo honoratamente, et non per il cappuccio, ma per esporre le Scritture sante; et [son] visto tanto volentieri, che non saprei più desiderarmi' (*Risposta alle false calunnie, et impie biastemie di frate Ambrosio Catharino*, [s.l., s.n. (i.e. Geneva?, Jean Girard?): s.a. (c. 1546)] fol. 7v).

he could live, and he would be in a very bad situation if there were not some merchants, sometimes one, sometimes another, who give him something'.¹²

Truchsess' account confirms the patronage accorded to Ochino by Augsburg's commercial oligarchy, whose prominent members were interested in recruiting preachers coming from Bucer's Strasbourg and from the Swiss reformed cities, especially Zurich.¹³ As a matter of fact, by the mid-1540s, Augsburg was facing a shortage of evangelical clergy and some of its magistrates, above all Hans Welser and Jacob Herbrot, tried to solve the problem by "borrowing" preachers from neighbouring cities.¹⁴ Augsburg's councilors' strategy was aimed at evangelizing the surrounding countryside in sight of the struggle between the Schmalkaldians and the Catholic forces faithful to the Emperor, but it was also risky and divisive, as the years 1544–1545 witnessed a revival of the Eucharist controversy between Bullinger's Zurich and Luther's Wittenberg.¹⁵ Ochino's reception and integration in Augsburg ought to be read and understood within this context of dynamic implementation of a peculiar model of urban Reformation by the City Council.

Besides that, the preacher could also rely on the support of influential theologians and humanists based in Augsburg and in Basel, who facilitated his integration in the cultural and religious environment of this important Swabian city. It has been suggested that during his short stay in Basel and Strasbourg in mid-1545, Ochino might have been induced to go to Augsburg by the German humanist Xystus Betuleius (Sixt Birck), who in that year praised the Italian preacher as a 'purioris theologiae Professorem' in the preface to his commentary on Lactantius.¹⁶ Betuleius, who was born in Augsburg and was dean of the *Gymnasium* of St. Anne, was a skilled teacher, playwright, grammarian and philologist. He was in contact with Basel humanists, in particular close friends of Ochino, like the Italian Celio Secondo Curione and the Savoyard Sebastian Castellio. Also in 1545, Betuleius published the Greek edition of the *Sybilline Oracles* to demonstrate the reliability of this source employed in

12 'il già frate Bernardino da Siena se n'è venuto da Argentina in Augusta povero e quasi mendico, e non ha suffragio né stipendio alcuno sicuro da poter viver, e la farebbe molto male, se non fosse alcuni mercanti che gli danno quando l'uno, quando l'altro qualche cosa' (*Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, vol. 1/8: *Nuntiatur des Verallo 1545–1546*, ed. W. Friedensburg [Gotha: 1898] 398 n. 82. Quoted in Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 76 n. 1).

13 Cf. Sieh-Burens K., *Oligarchie, Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich: 1986) 156–159, 350.

14 See Close C.W., "Augsburg, Zürich, and the Transfer of Preachers during the Schmalkaldic War", *Central European History* 42 (2009) 595–619.

15 Ibidem 601, 604.

16 Cf. Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* 170.

several patristic writings. He also composed a few poetic dedications for Wolfgang Musculus' *Catechismus Christianae religionis institutionem*, printed during the same period in Augsburg by Philipp Ulhart. In 1546, he had his edition of the *Novi Testamenti concordantiae Graecae* published in Basel by Johann Oporinus.

Betuleius was just one of the proponents of Augsburg's cultural, political and religious life who helped Ochino's stay in the Imperial city, where the former Capuchin resided from October 1545 to the late January 1547. There is no room here to delve into the dense social network with which Ochino interacted during his stay in Augsburg. But we can briefly recall at least the name of the Spanish humanist Francisco de Enzinas, of the Italian hebraist Francesco Stancaro, of the commercial agent Hieronymus Sailer and his wife Felicitas Welser, of the learned physician Christoph Wirsung, of Matthias Claudius, of the already mentioned Wolfgang Musculus and finally of two young preachers, Johann Flinner and Johannes Haller. The latter was recommended by Ochino to Martin Bucer and to the *Antistes* of Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger, whilst Flinner praised enthusiastically Ochino's preaching style in a letter addressed to the Constance Reformation theologian, Ambrosius Blaurer: 'There is one [preacher] who more than any other exercised considerable influence on me, due to his way of moving, gesturing and adjusting the face' – he wrote – 'His name is Bernardino Ochino. He is a renowned Italian theologian. I attended all the sermons on the Gospel he preached in our city. If I lived a thousand years my knowledge and skill will never match those that enliven his rich, dynamic and most effective way of preaching'.¹⁷ Such evaluation finds confirmation in a letter sent in April 1546 by the Basel *Antistes* Oswald Myconius to Bullinger, from which we learn of the enthusiastic approval expressed about Ochino's sermons, even by a strict Catholic and austere man like the count Anton Fugger.¹⁸

17 'Ad hoc accedit diuturna consuetudo aliorum ex quorum moribus quoque aliquid traho. Unus tamen prae omnibus mihi plus in gestibus ac fac[t]is reliquit, Bernhardus sc. Occhinus Italus insignis theologus, quem audiui quamdiu hic evangelium praedicavit. Putavi enim me mille annos posse vivere absque ita excellenti doctrina, sicuti ipse eam in concionando praedicat energixως ac certe efficacissime. Magna sunt scripta se maior vis vivae ipsius in isto homine vocis' (Johannes Flinner to Ambrosius Blaurer, Augsburg, 9 May 1546). St. Gallen, Stadtbibliothek, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, vol. 6, fol. 137. Quoted by Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 76–77 n. 1. See also *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer*, ed. T. Schiess, vol. 2: 2. *August 1538-Ende 1548* (Freiburg: 1910) n. 1284.

18 'De concordia fratrum Augustanorum et ecclesiae totius libenter audiui [...]. Sed mirum de Bernhardino, quod Antonium Fuccherum ita cepit, quem nullus concionatorum unquam vel movere potuit. Bene factum, si tantas opes poterit in coelum aliquando subvehere, ut et dominus habeat, quod suis largiatur, hactenus plus nimio tenuibus! Verum

But Ochino also received support from a radical movement that was led by the Silesian aristocrat Caspar Schwenckfeld, one of the main exponents of German sixteenth-century spiritualism. Ochino's religious thought, which was rooted in Franciscan medieval mystical spiritualism, showed an affinity with Schwenckfeld's approach, centered on spiritual enlightenment and on the idea of human redemption as a process of deification. Ochino's doctrinal discussion and spiritual exchange with Schwenckfeld has been properly described by the Italian historian Delio Cantimori as a 'fruitful encounter between Italian and German piety'.¹⁹ Such relationship was mediated by common acquaintances, whose names one can gather from Schwenckfeld's correspondence. Most of them, like Valentin Ickelsamer, Sibilla Eisler, Georg Regal and Wolfgang Thalhäuser, were followers of the Silesian theologian who, after listening to Ochino's sermons or reading his writings, consulted Schwenckfeld about the doctrinal ideas expressed therein by the Italian.²⁰ Among the others, Philip Walther deserves special mention, as he was the former consul of the German *Fondaco* of Venice and a great admirer of Ochino, to whom Schwenckfeld sent an annotated copy of Ochino's *Zwaintzig Predige*, printed in Neuburg an der Donau in 1545.²¹

3 Ochino's German Writings: Mystical Spirituality and Evangelical Propaganda at the Time of the Schmalkaldic War (1545–1547)

As a renowned preacher, a victim of Catholic intolerance and a credible witness of the Church's irreformability, during the early years of his exile, Bernardino Ochino was considered, in the Reformation's world, as a respectable interlocutor

extra iocum: Lingua nimirum placet Antonio et omnia enunciandi simplicitas sine morsu. Nam nosti, quam facile tenera ingenia, blanditiis adsueta, abarceantur initio, si durius adloquaris. Dominus adsit sua gratia, ut sanctificetur nomen eius' (Oswald Myconius to Heinrich Bullinger, Basle, 21 April 1546, in *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, vol. 16: *Briefe von Januar bis Mai 1546*, ed. R. Bodenmann et al. [Zurich: 2014] 368).

- 19 Cantimori D., "Incontri italo-germanici nell'età della Riforma", *Rivista di Studi Germanici* 3 (1938) 64–89, here 84 (then published also in Idem, *Umanesimo e religione nel Rinascimento* [Turin: 1975] 164–181).
- 20 See *Corpus Schwenckfeldianum*, ed. D. Hartranft, E. Ellsworth, S. Johnson, vols. 9–11 (Leipzig: 1928–1931), *ad nomen*; Cantimori D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento. Ricerche storiche* (Firenze: 1939), *ad nomen*; Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 82–83.
- 21 *Corpus Schwenckfeldianum* vol. 9, 622.

and sort of 'Italian Luther' in exile.²² His inspired sermons and harsh invectives against the corruption of the Roman Church attracted an interest that quickly went beyond the walls of Geneva, Basel, Strasbourg and Augsburg, Ochino's cities of refuge from 1542 to 1547. The preacher himself facilitated such an outcome by writing and printing several volumes of sermons, short doctrinal treatises and propagandistic booklets. Composed in Italian, most of these works were published by Jean Girard, the main printer in Calvin's Geneva during the 1540s, and were conceived for a clandestine circulation within Italian heterodox circles based in Venice, Siena, Lucca, Naples and elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.²³ Yet soon some of these sermons and pamphlets were also translated in other languages and employed by Protestants as tools of religious propaganda at different times and contexts: in France on the eve of the Wars of religion; in Cranmer's England; in 1550s Spain, Denmark and later in Poland; but especially in Switzerland and Upper Germany, Saxony and other German lands, where some of Ochino's sermons and *Flugschriften* enjoyed an extensive circulation during the 1540s and throughout the second half of that century.

The small *corpus* of Ochino's German writings deserves specific historiographical consideration, as it allows us to grasp meaningful aspects of the reception of his thought outside Italy and assess the actual dimension of his acceptance in Central European Protestant culture. Moreover, this *corpus* includes some short spiritual dialogues that, even though composed by Ochino in Italian, have survived only in the German version. The first imprint in German bearing Ochino's name was a *Flugschrift* that probably preceded the arrival of the Italian preacher in Augsburg in 1545. In fact, it contained the translation of a *Cartello di sfida* ('Challenge manifesto') composed by the Sienese in Geneva in January 1543. It was addressed to the 'bishop of Chieti', that is to say to Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, leader of the newly founded Roman Inquisition by which Ochino felt to be persecuted.²⁴ It is worth noting, that no Italian printed edition of it has been preserved. Besides the German

22 See Camaioni M., "An Italian Luther and his Books. Two 'masked' editions of Ochino's sermons and an unknown censored copy of his Italian *Prediche* (1541)", forthcoming in F. Bruni, M. Palumbo, S. Parkin (eds.), *Luther in Italy. Reform and reaction in the Italian book world* (Leiden: 2018).

23 On Girard, see at least Gilmont J.-F., *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, trans. K. Maag (Kirkville, Miss.: 2005; first French ed. Geneva: 1997) 184–188.

24 *Auschreiben und meynunge des woll und Hochgelerten Bernhardini von Senis an den Cardinal von Chretor*, [s.l., s.n.: s.a. (Magdeburg?, Christian Rödinger?: 1543?)].

version that was probably published in Magdeburg in 1543, only a handwritten copy of the supposedly original Italian text has survived.²⁵

The second known Ochino's German translation was also printed when the former Capuchin still resided in Geneva. As the abovementioned *manifesto* against Carafa, it was a short text of anti-Roman propaganda. This is the well-known *Imagine de Antichristo*, a short and atypical sermon first published in Geneva in 1542, which resembled Luther's *Passional Christi und Antichristi* and sharply criticized the Pontiffs' succession as the embodiment of the apocalyptic Antichrist. Thanks to the several translations in different languages, it proved to be one of the most popular anti-Roman *Flugschriften* of the sixteenth century. The German edition, that bore the title *Bildnus des Antechrists*, was printed in Neuburg an der Donau by Hans Kilian in 1544 and again in 1545, to be later included in collections of anti-Catholic texts published in the second half of the century.²⁶

In 1545 Kilian published also the already mentioned volume of *Zwaintzig Predige* owned by Schwenckfeld, containing the German version of the first twenty sermons that Ochino had released in Geneva in October 1542.²⁷ In this book, translated by Joseph Hoechstetter, a German reader could find a clear exposition of the Protestant doctrine of justification *ex sola fide*, along with an sarcastic but detailed criticism of Catholic ceremonies, vows, fasts and pilgrimages. Ochino's ability to explain such topics and arguments with an effective and charming style determined the success of his writings among the German public. This encouraged his supporters and protectors to finance the translation and publication of other texts of the Italian preacher, in order to enhance the contribution given by Ochino to Augsburg's urban Reformation and to the cause of the Schmalkaldic League.

During the one-and-a-half year stay in Augsburg, Ochino saw at least five or six of his writings turned into German and published by the printers Valentin

25 For the Italian version, cf. Gotor M., "Tradizione inquisitoriale e memoria eterodossa: un cartello di sfida di Bernardino Ochino al cardinale Carafa (1543–1628)", *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 12 (2000) 89–142. On the German edition, see Camaioni M., "Ochino gegen Carafa. Una sconosciuta edizione tedesca del 'cartello al cardinal di Chieti'", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 79 (2017) 133–153.

26 Cf. Bebel H., *Facetiae vom Keyser Maximiliano hochloeblicher gedechtnuß selbs gekroenten poeten in drey unterschiedliche buecher ein und abgetheilet* (Frankfurt am Main, Peter Schmidt: 1568 and Nikolaus Basse: 1589).

27 Bernardino Ochino, *Zwaintzig predige darinne die fuernembsten haubtstück Christlichs glaubens nemlich von der rechtfertigung durch Christum von im beschriben seinen innmassen wie ers zuvor ungeuerlich im Welschland gepredigt hat* (Neuburg an der Donau, Hans Kilian: 1545).

Othmar and Philipp Ulhart.²⁸ Even though the distinction should not be taken rigidly, one might divide these books in two categories: spiritual works and political/propagandistic texts. To the first category surely belongs a short treatise on mental prayer and two commentaries on the Pauline Letters to the Romans and the Galatians, both published also in Italian and Latin.²⁹ It is worth noting that, while the *Ausslegung der Epistel St. Pauls zun Römern* had probably been composed by Ochino in Geneva, his commentary on the Letter to the Galatians was the outcome of his preaching in Augsburg. The chapters of this book are, in fact, a reworked version of the sermons the Italian actually gave in the church of St. Anne.³⁰

Diversely, it is difficult to position two other works written and published by Ochino in Augsburg in 1546–1547: the short treatise *On the hope of a Christian temper* and the *Dialogue between Carnal Wisdom and a spiritual or believing Christian*.³¹ Apparently, their subject is religious and spiritual, as they insist, with mystical lyricism, on God's infinite mercy and love, on Christ's atonement and on the certainty of salvation for God's elect. Yet, they also convey the tense atmosphere of fear, expectation and evangelical fervour that characterized

28 Other German Ochino editions came from the period 1555–1563, during which the preacher embraced the office of pastor of the Locarnese community in Zurich. Such imprints correspond to a new volume of *XXVI predige des gottgelerten Bernhardini von siena wie er sy ungeuerlich hievor imm Welschland gepredigt und darnach in Italianischer sprach beschriben hat die fuernembsten hauptstueck Christlichs glaubens belangend* (Neuburg an der Donau, Hans Kilian: 1556); a *Dialogus. Das ist ein gespräch von dem faegfheür in welchem der Baepstleren toerechtigen und falschen gründ das faegfheür zeerhalten widerlegt werdend* (Zurich, Andreas & Hans Jakob Geßner: 1555 and Mühlhausen, Peter Schmidt and Johann Schirenbrand: 1558), and the already mentioned editions of the *Apologi. Darin werden die miszbrech, thorheiten, aberglauben, irrthumben, goetzendienst, und gotlosigkeiten der Papistischen Synagoga [...] eroeffnet*, transl. Christoph Wirsung (s.l., s.n. [i.e. Zurich, Andreas Geßner & Hans Jakob Geßner]: 1556; also 1557, 1559).

29 *Ain Christlichs schöns und trostlichs Bett, in dem mit wunderbarlicher Kürtze, die gantz Säligkeit und gerechtigkeit, wie die mit Verleugnuss und zunichtigmachung sein selber und aus ainiger Genad Gottes durch Christum Jesus, der mensch erlange, gar trostlich und reichlich begriffen ist, sampt ainer rechten waren geschriftgelerten Biblischen und Christlichen Beycht* (Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart: s.d.); *Ausslegung der Epistel St. Pauls zun Römern* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1546); *Predigen uber die Epistel Pauli zu den Galatern* (Augsburg, Valentin Othmar: 1546).

30 According to Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* 171, this commentary 'bears the stamp of a homiletic treatment before the congregation'.

31 *Von der Hoffnung aines Christlichen Gemüts [...]* (Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart: 1547); *Ain Gespräch, der flaischlichen vernunft, und eins Gaistlichen oder gläubigen Christen menschen, von den hendeln, so sich zu dieser unserer Zeil zutragen [...]* (n.p.: n.d.).

Augsburg and the Schmalkaldic coalition on the eve of their clash with the Imperial forces. The *Dialogue between Carnal Wisdom and a spiritual or believing Christian* is both a compendium of polemics against the Catholics and a hymn of living faith ('viva fede'), that is to say the exposition of a mystical and Christocentric conception of religious life.³² It is not clear whether Ochino wrote it before the start of the war in July 1546 or later, when the tide of the conflict dramatically turned in favor of the Emperor. In any case, some passages appear to refer implicitly to the hard position of the Augsburgers, who, at the end of 1546, found themselves alone facing the advance of the Imperial and Catholic troops. Ochino maintained, for instance, the right of 'princes and dignitaries' to resist tyranny and defend by arms their people by 'those who dare draw away mankind from Christ by force, injustice and impious means'.³³ To this statement made by the Spiritual Christian, Carnal Wisdom replies with a counter-argument ('you are divided in so many sects') that appears to allude to the scarce political and religious cohesion of the confessionalizing Protestant front, a weakness that Ochino had already criticized in his Genevan sermons.

To the second category, that of the more 'political writings', can be ascribed the anonymous *Dialogue between the German Land and Hope*.³⁴ Likewise the *Dialogue between Carnals Wisdom and a spiritual Christian* that contains an appeal for resistance against the tyranny of the Emperor and the Roman Pope, it was composed by Ochino with the objective of contributing to the propagandistic campaign launched by Augsburg and the other Schmalkaldic polities in preparation for the confrontation against the Catholics troops gathered by Charles V with the support of the Farnese pope, Paul III. Other preachers and theologians, like Wolfgang Musculus who penned a *Flugschrift* entitled *Vermanung an den Teütschen unnd Evangelischen Kriegsman* in 1546, took active part in this effort, whose aim was to reinvigorate the spirit of the evangelical front and to legitimise the claims of the Schmalkaldians within the public sphere.³⁵ It was a precise strategy of both political and religious communication, fostered in Augsburg by councilors and notables, first of all

32 See Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* 172–176.

33 Quoted *ibidem* 181.

34 *Ein Gespräch des Teütschen Lands und der Hoffnung, diese gegenwertige Kriegsleüff betreffend, inn Welschland beschriben und hernach welscher sprach verteütschet* (s.l., s.n.: 1546). For the attribution to Ochino, see Steiniger J., "Eine unbekannte Schrift von Bernardino Ochino", *Zwingliana* 43 (2016) 1–35.

35 See Waldeck O., "Die Publizistik des Schmalkaldischen Krieges", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 7 (1909–1910) 1–55.

Jacob Herbrot, to whom Ochino was closely linked. By the mid-1540s, Herbrot was the leading figure in Augsburg's political life. In the 1530s and early 1540s, the process of urban reform had been led by Wolfgang Rehlinger and his group. The Rehlingers had oriented Augsburg's religious system toward Strasbourg, frequently asking Martin Bucer for guidance and receiving pastors and preachers from the Rhenish city, including Wolfgang Musculus.³⁶ In 1543 Rehlinger's retirement had favoured the rise of Herbrot and of his fellow Georg Herwart, the patrician mayor. Together they 'embarked on an ambitious program to expand the city's religio-political sphere of influence through the spread of Augsburg-style reform'.³⁷

When the conflict with the Catholic Emperor erupted in July 1546, Augsburg's councilors ordered their troops to occupy the local countryside. Along with soldiers, they also sent preachers: Wolfgang Musculus went to Wettenhausen; Ulrich Lederle headed to Grimoldsried; and Johann Flinner, the young preacher who had been impressed by Ochino's sermons, was assigned to Füssen. As has been argued, according to the strategy shared by Augsburg's oligarchy with the governments of the other evangelical imperial cities of Eastern Swabia, 'evangelization complemented the general war effort', as religious reform should facilitate the achievement of 'the concrete political objective of spreading urban jurisdiction to areas formerly controlled by Catholic lords'.³⁸ The task of such urban 'missionaries', decreed Augsburg's City Council in August 1546, was 'to remove from the churches all papal teachings; masses; vigils; blessings of salt, water, and candles; idolatrous ever other things there may be in their place, preach the Word in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg'.³⁹ Actually, they also preached against the temporary alliance between Charles v and Paul III, arguing that the Italian soldiers sent by the pope to the aid of the Emperor against the Schmalkaldians would 'deprive all Germany of its liberty and of the Gospel'.⁴⁰

36 See Sieh-Burens K., "Bürgermeisteramt, soziale Verflechtung und Reformation in der freien Reichsstadt Augsburg 1518 bis 1539", in *Miscellanea Suevica Augustana*, ed. P. Fried (Sigmaringen: 1985) 61–88, here 67; Close, *The Negotiated Reformation* 35.

37 Ibidem 35. On the 'Herbrot group', see Sieh-Burens, *Oligarchie* 156–169.

38 Close, "Augsburg, Zürich, and the Transfer of Preachers" 595.

39 Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Ratsprotokolle, August 10, 1546. Quoted and translated ibidem 596.

40 See in this regard the dispatch coming from Regensburg, that the Florentine emissary in Venice recorded on 25 June 1546: 'Messer Antonio Fuccheri et il Pomerano son qui et strettamente negotiano con questi ministri imperiali per Augusta. S'è detto ancora che si tratta non so che di pace tra l'imperatore et li protestanti. Sono molti, che hanno restituiti li denari havuti dall'imperatore, dicendo non voler servire contra la natione, et li luterani col fare predicare, che li italiani mandati dal papa vengono per torre la libertà, et il

As we have seen, Ochino pitched in to the cause of Augsburg with his writings and sermons. Thus, one might wonder whether he also played a role in the campaign of 'regional evangelization' launched by Augsburg's oligarchies during the Schmalkaldic war in order to expand the sphere of the city's religious-political hegemony in Eastern Swabia. The Italian was, by no doubt, an amazing preacher. Yet he was not able to speak fluent German. Therefore, he could not take part in the local preaching mission in which his colleagues Musculus, Haller, Lederle and others were involved. Moreover, a security measure established by the City Council forbade the Italian to leave Augsburg and ordered to keep him under permanent surveillance because of the risk of assassins hired by the Catholics. Augsburg's councilors had grounds to fear that somebody coming from the outside would dare, as the duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este, wrote in April 1546 to his cousin Ercole Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, 'to offend the good Paternity of friar Bernardino'.⁴¹ Just few weeks earlier, in fact, the Spanish Juan Díaz had been gruesomely murdered in Switzerland by a hired assassin sent by his own brother Alfonso, an imperial lawyer based in Italy, who had feigned a conversion to Protestantism in order to approach and persuade him to turn back to Catholicism.⁴² Díaz was a friend to Ochino. Five days before his assassination, the Spaniard had written to the Italian preacher from Neufchatel in response to a letter in which Ochino, along with Musculus, had exhorted him not to trust his brother.⁴³

Vangelo alla Germania tutta, impediscono, che sua maestà non può far gente' (Firenze, Archivio di Stato, *Mediceo del Principato, Relazioni con gli stati italiani*, filza 2966: *Lettere di Pier Filippo Pandolfini residente in Venetia l'anno 1545 et 1546*, fol. 129r, 155r). One of the informers of the Venetians in Augsburg was the very same Ochino, who, as said, had close connections with the representatives of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* and with members of Venice's political and religious life. In the early March 1546, Pandolfini reported: 'Et altro di più non ho che dirli se non che hoggi s'intende per una lettera di fra Bernardino da Siena delli x di questo data in Augusta come Martin Lutherò è morto' (ibidem, filza 2966, fol. 190r).

41 'essendo intrante quelle bestie in sospitione che potessero esser lì per offendere la paterna bontà di fra Bernardino'. (Ercole II d'Este to Ercole Gonzaga, Ferrara, 27 April 1546, Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Gonzaga, b. 1915, fol. 233r).

42 See Roth F., "Zur Verhaftung und zu dem Prozeß des Dr. Rotae Alfonso Diaz (27. März bis 14. April 1546)", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 7 (1910) 413–438; Idem, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte* vol. 3, 340, 364, *ad nomen*; Francisco de Enzinas, *Epistolario, ad nomen*.

43 See the letter in Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino* 167–168, and Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 77–78.

The Díaz affair found wide resonance in the Swiss and German lands, triggering a public debate over tolerance and martyrdom that involved, among others, Philip Melanchthon, John Calvin and Claude de Senarclens, one of the Genevan fellows of Ochino.⁴⁴ Such context explains why, on the eve of the war against the Emperor, allied to the Catholic Pope, Augsburg's councilors were so concerned about Ochino's safety. After all, even before Díaz's assassination Ochino himself had feared for his life and did not trust strangers, especially Italians.⁴⁵ When in April 1546 Venice's ambassador, Alvise Mocenigo, succeeded in meeting him, he reported that Augsburg's rulers kept the former Capuchin under custody because they were afraid of some 'machination' against his life due to 'faith disagreements', as had been the case of Díaz.⁴⁶ In the same period, a Florentine emissary read a dispatch arrived in Venice from Augsburg according to which the councilors of the city had forbidden strangers to even speak to Ochino 'without their license'.⁴⁷

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- 44 Cf. Senarclens Claude de, *Historia vera de morte sancti viri Ioannis Dazii Hispani* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1546); Melanchthon Philipp, *Ware Historia, wie newlich zu Neuburg an der Donau eyn Spanier, genannt Alphonsus Diasius, oder Decius* (7. Juni 1546), in *Melanthonis Opera*, Corpus Reformatorum xx (Brunsvigae: 1854) 515–518; [Calvin Jean], *Trois libelles anonymes*, ed. F. Higman, O. Millet (Geneva: 2006). Ochino's friendship with Senarclens is proved by the *Liber amicorum* of the Frenchman, where besides the dedications of Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Brenz, Schnepff, Vermigli, Bibliander, Zwingli, Bullinger, Pellikan, Gwalther and others, also an handwritten note by Ochino can be found, reproducing the biblical quotation 'Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum' (Rom. 8, 28) (Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. Lat. 328, fol. 22r). See also Heinzer F., "Das Album Amicorum (1545–1569) des Claude de Senarclens", in *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Klose (Wiesbaden: 1989) 95–124, here 120.
- 45 See the already quoted letter sent by Truchsess to Farnese in November 1545, in which the Cardinal of Augsburg wrote that Ochino was 'con gran sospetto di esser amazzato, né si fida di parlar ad Italiani. Però tuttavia scrive in Italia e li manda lettere' (*Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, vol. 1/8, 398 n. 82; Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 76 n. 1).
- 46 'questi signori [...] gli tenevano la detta custodia, temendo di qualche macchinazione contro la sua vita, siccome par che sia seguito ad uno spagnuolo che questi giorni è stato ammazzato dal proprio fratello per causa simile di dissensione di fede' (Alvise Mocenigo to the Dieci of Venice, Augsburg, 18 April 1546, *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe (Dispacci di Germania)*, ed. Historische Commission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna: 1889) vol. 1, 457–459). See Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 78–79.
- 47 See also the dispatch of 13 May 1546: 'Di Augusta è scritto de 24 del passato [aprile] che quivi doppio quelli homicidio del frate spagnolo, s'era pubblicamente deliberato da quelli che governano, che niuno forestiere possa parlare a fra Bernardino Occhino senza licentia loro' (Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Mediceo del Principato, Relazioni con gli stati italiani*, 2966: *Lettere di Pier Filippo Pandolfini residente in Venetia l'anno 1545 et 1546*, fol. 275r and ibidem, fol. 268r).

Yet, in spite of the danger and limitations, Ochino did not desist from carrying on his preaching in St Anne. And apparently he did so by converting his sermons into appeals for resistance against the enemies of the evangelical faith and of the city's independence. An handwritten *Avviso* that circulated in Northern Italy in August 1546 reads: 'In all the cities and in all the armies they preach about preparing for death, showing that the emperor does not only want to deprive them from their ancient liberty but even from Jesus Christ and thus they inflame (sc. the people) in such a way that it is not possible to keep them from going to war and, in particular, the one called Ochino, also known as friar Bernardino, preaches (sc. like that) completely armed by white weapons'.⁴⁸ Besides this, Ochino also offered to the councilors of Augsburg a sort of political and diplomatic assistance. The mentioned Venetian ambassador who met him in April 1546 reported that the preacher was a 'confidant' of Augsburg's rulers and that he knew 'their secrets'. As a matter of fact, Ochino had revealed to the ambassador that the Augsburgers had intercepted an envelope containing letters written by the pope, participants in the Council of Trent, cardinals and others to Charles V, and asked him to help decipher and translate them.⁴⁹ Even more interestingly, when in July 1546 the war took an ill turn for Augsburg, the commander of the Schmalkaldic forces in Eastern Swabia, Sebastian von Schertlin, exhorted the city councilors to ask Ochino to

48 'Per tutte le città e per tutti li esercizi se predica e la materia si è della preparacion alla morte e dimostrare al imperatore che li vol privare non pur del antiqua libertà ma ancora di Gesù Cristo, e cussi infiamano di tal sorta che non è più possibile a tenerli che non seguano la guerra et in particolare si è detto che l'Ochino *alias* fra Bernardino talhora predica armato tutto de arme bianche' (*Cronaca modenese di Tommasino de' Bianchi detto de' Lancellotti*, vol. 3 (Parma: 1871) 278–279). The same chronicler also transcribed an *Avviso* from Augsburg, according to which 'tutta la Germania è in arme [...] de maniera che se dubita innundatione della povera Italia simile a quella già da Gotti' (ibidem).

49 '[S]appino le V. Eccellent.me Signorie, esso messer Bernardino esser molto confidente di questi signori di Augusta e che può ben saper dei secreti loro, e tra le altre cose che mi fanno creer questo, è che egli mi ha detto in secreto, il che ho voluto scriver alle V. Eccellenze, che loro di Augusta hanno intercetto un plico di lettere del Pontefice, del concilio, e dei cardinali ed altri, indirizzate alla corte della Cesarea M.tà, le quali aperte, furono da loro portate ad esso messer Bernardino, e che lui lesse diverse cose e tra le altre che pareva che nel concilio fosse stato proposto di terminar che il Pontefice fosse sopra il concilio, e che in queste lettere erano molte cifre, le quali lui non seppe interpretare, e da quei signori sono state mandate a decifrare ad uno che già fu segretario di un ambasciatore francese lì in Venezia, molto pratico in cifre, il qual è propinquo qui ad Augusta: né sono ancora ritornate' (Alvise Mocenigo to the Dieci, Augsburg, 18 April 1546, in *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe* vol. 1, 457–459; Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 78–79).

write to one of the Italian enemies of the pope, the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este, in order to persuade him to hinder the advance of the Italian Catholic troops sent to Germany.⁵⁰

Taking these elements into consideration, it becomes clear why, at the moment of Augsburg's capitulation, Ochino was considered by the Imperial authorities to be one of those responsible for the city's rebellion, to the extent that Charles V requested his arrest and imprisonment.⁵¹ Ochino's loyalty and manifold contribution to Augsburg's Reformation, and to the cause of the Schmalkaldic League, also indicates why the rulers of Augsburg strived to secure his safety and finally allowed him to leave Augsburg secretly before Imperial troops entered the city. Before that, Jacob Herbrodt had even proposed to the Emperor to pay, from his own pocket, a thousand guilders to grant Ochino's liberty.⁵² The attempt carried out by the leader of Augsburg's political Protestantism represented the high regard held for the Italian preacher, who had fought with the pen and from the pulpit for the survival of the Swabian urban Reformation. Yet it did not succeed. Again, as had happened in 1542 when he had left Italy, Ochino had no choice but to flee.

He firstly went back to Basel, then to Strasbourg when he met the theologian Pietro Martire Vermigli, his exiled Italian companion. Together, after refusing the Augsburg Interim, the confessional compromise decreed by Charles V in the aftermath of the Battle of Mühlberg (1547), they set sail to Great Britain. They had been invited to London by the powerful Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who was looking for skilled preachers, pastors and theologians who could help him in the evangelical reform of the English Church supported by the young king Edward VI, and by the Lord Protector Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.⁵³ After the Roman Catholic restoration, in 1553 Ochino again sought refuge in the Swiss and German lands. He first went to Geneva. But Calvin's town had become a citadel of orthodoxy, where the heterodox and anti-dogmatic positions of radicals and spiritualists were not tolerated anymore; just few days before Ochino's arrival, the anti-trinitarian

50 See the letter sent by Schertlin to the Bürgermeister of Augsburg on 10 July 1546, published in Herberger T., *Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach und seine an die Stadt Augsburg geschriebenen Briefe* (Augsburg: 1852) 90 and quoted by Bainton, *Bernardino Ochino* 84. On Italian connections with the Schmalkaldians see Stella A., "Utopie e velleità insurrezionali dei filoprotestanti italiani (1545–1547)", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 27 (1965) 133–182.

51 Cf. Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte* vol. 3, 473, 502.

52 See Hecker, "Der Augsburger Bürgermeister Jacob Herbrodt" 50, 53.

53 Cf. Overell A., *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c. 1535–c. 1585* (Aldershot: 2008) *ad nomen*.

Miguel Servetus had been burnt at the stake. Thus, the Italian preacher moved on, finally settling in Zurich as pastor of the Locarnese community, composed of Italian exiles. He would stay for eight years, during which he renewed his contacts with German-speaking evangelical networks and also published new works.⁵⁴ Promptly translated from Latin or Italian into German, these late writings by Ochino enjoyed a wide circulation within Upper and Northern Germany. Examples include the overlooked cases of the German editions of the *Apologi* (1557, 1559) and a version of some 'prayers' attributed to Ochino, which even obtained significant popularity in Denmark, as arranged by the Lutheran theologian Peder Palladius and first printed in Lübeck in 1558 under the title *Nogle merkelige Bønner*.⁵⁵

4 Conclusion

Ochino's Augsburg period represents a meaningful case study that allows us to investigate an early phase of the transcultural encounter and of the both political and religious interchange between Italian religious émigrés and the sixteenth-century German environment. Retracing the preacher's activity and connections in this wealthy Imperial city, it has been possible to illustrate how an Italian exile could take advantage of the complex cultural and religious network that connected the urban constellation of Upper Germany, and especially of the strategic convergence between Augsburg and the Swiss Reformation. The Swabian city's cultural and linguistic pluralism allowed Ochino to preach in Italian to a small community of Italians and of German tradesmen who were able to understand the language. Augsburg's commercial oligarchy welcomed the famous Italian preacher in late 1545, when the war between the Protestant Schmalkaldic League and Catholic forces, led by the Emperor Charles V, was imminent. Ochino firmly sided with the Schmalkaldians. In fact, he provided diplomatic advice to Augsburg's councilors and, even though he could not

54 See, also for further bibliography, Taplin M., *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540–1620* (Aldershot: 2003), *ad nomen*.

55 *Nogle merkelige Bønner; wdi denne verdens modgong oc ælendighed, at indfalde hart til Gud met, besynderlige naar det vil gielde for aluore wdi Kaarssit* [by Bernardinus Ochinus]. *Fordansket aff Doc. Peder Palladius* (Lübeck, Georg Richolff: 1558). This book was then reprinted in Magdeburg in 1562 and in Rostock in 1572. In 1558, Palladius also published a Danish translation of Savonarola's commentary on the Psalm *Miserere*, whose first Latin edition in the Reformation's world had been handled by Martin Luther in 1522. On these editions is working Federico Zuliani.

speak fluent German, he preached and wrote short propagandistic treatises in his own tongue, that were quickly translated and distributed widely, to the extent that the Imperials considered the Italian an agitator and a leader of the rebellion. The reconstruction of the historical context of the Schmalkaldic war in Eastern Swabia, and of the peculiar features of Augsburg's cultural, political and religious background, has proved to be decisive in evaluating an overlooked period in the life of a noted representative of Italian Reformation and to understand the contribution that one of the most intriguing and controversial 'eretici italiani del Cinquecento' gave to German religious culture.

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- Ochino Bernardino, *Ausslegung der Epistel St. Pauls zun Römern* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1546).
- Ochino Bernardino, *Ein Gespräch des Teütschen Lands und der Hoffnung, diese gegenwertige Kriegsleüff betreffend, inn Welschland beschriben und hernach welscher sprach verteütschet*, (n.p.: 1546).
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- Ochino Bernardino, *Dialogus. Das ist ein gespräch von dem faegfheür in welchem der Baepstleren toerechtigen und falschen gründ das faegfheür zeerhalten widerlegt werdend* (Zurich, Andreas Geßner & Hans Jakob Geßner: 1555 and Mülhausen, Peter Schmidt & Johann Schirenbrand: 1558).
- Ochino Bernardino, *Apologi. Darin werden die miszbreuch, thorheiten, aberglauben, irrthumben, goetzendienst und gottlosigkeiten der Papistischen synagoga eroeffnet* (Zurich, Andreas Geßner & Hans Jakob Geßner: 1556, 1557, 1559).
- Ochino Bernardino, *XXVI predige des gottgelerten Bernhardini von siena wie er sy ungeuerlich hievor imm Welschland gepredigt und darnach in Italianischer sprach beschriben hat die fuernembsten hauptstueck Christlichs glaubens belangend* (Neuburg an der Donau, Hans Kilian: 1556).
- Ochino Bernardino, *Nogle merkelige Bønner, wdi denne verdens modgong oc ælen-dighed, at indfalde hart til Gud met, besynderlige naar det vil gielde for aluore wdi*

- Kaarssit [by Bernardinus Ochinus]. *Fordansket aff Doc. Peder Palladius* (Lübeck, Georg Richolff: 1558).
- Ochino Bernardino, *Ain Christlichs schöns und trostlichs Bett, in dem mit wunderbarer Kürtze, die gantz Säligkait und gerechtigkait, wie die mit Verleugnuss und zu nichtigmachung sein selber und aus ainiger Genad Gottes durch Christum Jesus, der mensch erlange, gar trostlich und reichlich begriffen ist, sampt ainer rechten waren geschriftgelerten Biblischen und Christlichen Beycht* (Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart: s.d.).
- Ochino Bernardino, *Ain Gespräch, der flaischlichen vernunft, und eins Gaistlichen oder gläubigen Christen menschen, von den hendeln, so sich zu dieser unserer Zeil zutragen* (s.l., s.n.: s.d.).
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Olympia Fulvia Morata: ‘Glory of Womankind both for Piety and for Wisdom’

Lucia Felici

Olympia Fulvia Morata was an extraordinary figure in the sixteenth century European culture, especially in the German, Italian speaking realms, and has been called the ‘miracle of the century’.¹ Her reputation in the sixteenth century as an exceptional humanist scholar, exile *religionis causa*, and as someone aware of female dignity in the intellectual sphere, accompanied her in Italy and Germany, where she found refuge. Here is where she earned the respect and the admiration of the community of scholars. Her sudden death subtracted her from the honours of first *graduated woman poet* to which she seemed destined. Her fame allowed to claim that she was the first university Professor of Greek in the Empire. The construction of her myth, which began immediately after her death, increased the peculiarity of the story of Morata: she became an exemplary intellectual, religious, and feminine model of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation; an icon in the reformed martyrology; an example of intellectual woman in the *Frauenfrage* in the German culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² Her fame shows no sign of fading even today. Being the subject matter of several studies, she is referred to in the *Deutsche Literatur*

- 1 Hess U., “Lateinischer Dialog und gelehrte Partnerschaft. Frauen als humanistische Leitbilder in Deutschland (1500–1550)”, in Brinker-Gabler G. (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen* (Munich: 1988) I, 113–148, 139.
- 2 Daenens F., “Olympia Morata. Storie parallele”, in Honess C. – Jones V. (eds.), *Le donne delle minoranze. Le ebrei e le protestanti d'Italia* (Turin: 1999) 101–112; Peyronel Rambaldi S., “Olimpia Morata e Celio Secondo Curione: un dialogo dell'umanesimo cristiano”, in Méchoulain H. – Popkin R.H. – Ricuperati G. – Simonutti L. (eds.), *La formazione storica dell'alterità. Studi di storia della tolleranza nell'età moderna offerti a Antonio Rotondò* (Florence: 2001) I, 93–133; Dörner A., “Vom Selbstbild zum Vorbild: Olympia Fulvia Morata und die Konstruktion eines protestantischen Frauenmodells im 16. Jahrhundert”, in Burschel P. et al. (eds.), *Vorbild- Inbild-Abbild. Religiöse Lebensmodelle in geschlechtergeschichtlicher Perspektive* (Freiburg i. B.: 2003) 53–81; Svandrlík R., “Il mito di Olimpia Morata nella cultura tedesca tra Otto e Novecento”, in Fragnito G. (ed.), *Olimpia Morata: cultura umanistica e Riforma protestante tra Ferrara e l'Europa. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Ferrara, Palazzo Bonacossi, 18–20 novembre 2004*, special issue of *Schifanoia. Notizie dell'Istituto di studi rinascimentali di Ferrara* 28/29 (2007) 349–354.

von Frauen as the 'most important woman for the German Humanism of the first half of the sixteenth century'.³ In the analysis of the contribution of Italian emigration in Germany, Morata is of great interest both in itself and for the model that she gradually embodied.

Beyond mythologisation, the fame of Morata was not undeserved. She offered a complete synthesis of the changes taking place in the spheres of knowledge and religion, as well as in the valorisation of women, typical of the humanistic movement and the spiritual reform of the sixteenth century. Her literary production, her epistolary – although it has come down to us only in a posthumous and incomplete edition⁴ – and her life outline an all-round image of a reformed scholar of the sixteenth century, engaged in the intellectual and religious life, consistent in her choices and lucid in claiming the value as a woman. The judgements of Italian and German contemporaries, attest her profile of 'most learned woman (*femina doctissima*)', 'clever beyond her sex (*supra sexum ingeniosa*)' and 'divine (*plane divina*)' for her religiosity.⁵

Certainly the voice of Morata was not the only one. A new model of woman, 'learned and Christian', mainly defined by Erasmus in view of the overall renewal of the Christian society – first of all with the Magdalia of the *Colloquia familiaria* – then enriched with the Reformation of a new dimension of religious equality and commitment, allowed, as is well known, greater participation for women in spiritual and intellectual life, with a different awareness and legitimization.⁶ The cultural phenomena of which Morata became the interpreter led to a great flowering of women's literature in Italy at the time.⁷ Also in the German Empire there were notable examples of women engaged in the religious and intellectual spheres, from Caritas Pirckheimer, Margarete Peutingen and her daughters, to the "heroines" of the Protestant Reformation such as Katharina Zell, Elisabeth Cruciger, Elisabeth von Braunschweig-Lüneburg.⁸

3 Hess, "Lateinischer Dialog" 138.

4 See below.

5 Morata O., *The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic*, ed. H.N. Parker (Chicago & London: 2003) 61, 63; Curione Celio Secondo, *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae Foeminae doctissimae ac plane divinae Opera omnia* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1558).

6 Thomson J.L., *Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah. Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, his Predecessors, and his Contemporaries* (Geneva: 1992); Brown S.M., *Women, Gender, and Radical Religion in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2007); Stjerna K., *Women and the Reformation* (Oxford: 2009).

7 Dionisotti C., *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: 1999).

8 Hess, "Lateinischer Dialog"; Becker-Cantarino B., "Religiöse Botschaft, Erziehung und Erbauung", in Brinker-Gabler (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen* 1, 149–184; Domröse S., *Frauen der Reformationszeit* (Göttingen: 2010).

However, that of Morata was a prominent and original voice for the topics of the Italian humanist and reformist movement being transferred into the German world and, conversely, for what she transmitted in Italy of that world with her story of exile. In short, the effects of Morata's emigration to Germany were extremely important.

1 'Most Learned Woman' at the Court of Ferrara

The path that led Olympia Morata to Germany began in Ferrara, where she was born in 1526.⁹ The town, under the dominion of Ercole II, Duke of Este and Renée of France, was then very renowned for its cultural liveliness, cosmopolitanism, and openness to new cultural and religious orientations. This was fostered by the court, by a prestigious university, a large number of literary academies, and by both Italian and foreign scholars. Ferrara, internationally renowned birthplace of Chivalric Poetry in the 1530s became a 'real center of poetic activity and the elaboration of literary models for the French literature. It was also known for the prominent presence at court of the famous Calvinist poets Clément Marot and Maurice Scève and French *dames* 'adorned with science and virtue' such as Michelle de Soubise, Anna du Pons, Michelle de Saubonne, Anne de Parthenay, Françoise de Boussiron.¹⁰

These figures shared a literary sensibility, but also the religious orientations of Renée of France. Converted to Calvinism, albeit with the doctrinal flexibility inherited by the French evangelism, the Duchess had made her court a

9 For Morata's biography see Bonnet J., *Vie de Olympia Morata. Episode de la Renaissance et de la Réforme en Italie* (Paris: 1856); Parker, "Introduction", in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 1–57, the essays included in *Schifanoia* 28/29 (2007) 133–354; Honemann V., "Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526 Ferrara – 1555 Heidelberg): Schreiben in schwierigen Zeiten", in Bollmann A. (ed.), *Ein Platz für sich selbst. Schreibende Frauen und ihre Lebenswelten (1450–1700)* (Frankfurt a. M.: 2011) 43–68; Saracco L., "Morato, Olimpia Fulvia", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: 1960–) (=DBI), vol. 76 (2012) [=http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/olimpia-fulvia-morato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/]; eadem, "'E le vostre figlie profeteranno': vocazione alla parola e riflessione teologica nell'epistolario di Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526–1555)", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 40 (2004) 333–349. See also *Olympia Fulvia Morata. Stationen ihres Lebens: Ferrara-Schweinfurt-Heidelberg. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Universitätsmuseum Heidelberg 1998* (Ubstadt-Weiher: 1998); http://de.geocities.com/boriskoerkerweb/studies/Morata/index.html.

10 Bertozzi M. (ed.), *Alla corte degli Estensi. Filosofia, arte, cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI* (Ferrara: 1994); Gorris Camos R., "'Donne ornate di scienza e di virtù': donne e francesi alla corte di Renée of France", *Schifanoia* 28/29 (2007) 175–205.

fundamental reference point in the world of Protestantism and evangelism of Italy and France.¹¹ In the court the Bible was read and studied, religious issues were addressed, the Supper was celebrated in the reformed manner. Despite the self-referentiality and abstention from proselytism, even the Nicodemism, of her *entourage*, the Duchess was generous in her hospitality and support to all the heterodox who came to Ferrara, among them Léon Jamet, François Richardot, Ludovico Castelvetro, Antonio Brucioli, Celio Secondo Curione, Ortensio Lando, and Giulio da Milano. Thus Renée was given the appellations of 'patroness', 'pious receiver of every Christian' and 'only refuge' of the persecuted. The presence of Ercole II, unfavourable to the Reformation but protective of his own sovereignty and attentive to the national and European arena, and Renée, thanks to the protection of the French royals, allowed this situation of relative religious freedom to last until the 1550s.

The father of Olympia, Pellegrino Morato, was a scholar of reformed ideas and tutor of the natural sons of Ercole II,¹² and he participated in this refined environment, rich in intellectual and religious ferment. Olympia was introduced to this milieu after receiving a humanistic education from her father, in the name of classical culture and philosophy, and already religion-oriented. At the age of fourteen, following the indication of the scholar Celio Calcagnini and due to her qualities of 'rare talent' and 'non vulgar erudition', Morata became maid of the Dukes' daughters, Lucrezia, Leonora and Anna, in order to stimulate the latter in classical studies.¹³ As a *filie du corps* she participated in the ceremonies and the life at court, but especially in the school promoted by the Duchess.

The pedagogical program prepared by Renée was intended for all the young people in the court, but special attention was paid to the female component. Celebrated for her humanistic and theological knowledge, the Duchess made sure that her daughters (and Olympia with them), were 'fed like beautiful plants' in her *entourage*, with vast readings and outstanding teachers. Therefore the Este princesses and especially Anna received great praise for their culture and intellectual liveliness.¹⁴ Moreover the education of the young girls was strongly supported by the German humanist and geographer Jakob Ziegler, Professor at the University of Ferrara and friend of Calcagnini: in a work dedicated to

11 Belligni E., *Renato di Francia (1510–1575). Un'eresia di corte* (Turin: 2011).

12 Cignoni M., "Fulvio Pellegrino Morato. Umanista protestante", *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Ferrara* 72/73 (1984/1985–1985/1986) 135–148.

13 Franceschini C., "'Literarum studia nobis communia': Olimpia Morata e la corte di Renata di Francia", *Schifanoia* 28/29 (2007) 211.

14 Gorris Camos, "'Donne ornate di scienza e di virtù'" 183.

Renée, he hoped for an era of peace and equality between the sexes, starting from the field of education, and in every discipline.¹⁵ Calcagnini echoed him, writing to Olympia that even in their historical period, women could not be excluded from the study of the fine arts, as was the case in the times of Aspasia and Diotima.¹⁶ The topic of women's excellence was nevertheless very popular in the literature of the early sixteenth century.

At the Este court, Morata studied Greek under the guidance of the reformed scholars Kilian and Johannes Senf (Sinapius), the first a jurist and court physician and the second a famous Greek philosopher, with many personal relationships (with Erasmus, Melanchthon, Bucer, Calvin, Vadiano etc.). They were attracted to Ferrara by the fame of its university and then, with the change of the religious climate, returned to their homeland to take on prestigious positions.¹⁷ As shown by their correspondence, the mutual esteem between her and the Sinapii was strong and never ceased. It rather increased during their common stay in Germany.¹⁸ The close relationship between Olympia and Calcagnini since then it is also documented. Calcagnini was very renown in Ferrara for his work as a diplomat, a man of science and church, but also as an unconventional intellectual with his pro-Erasmian religious critique and his anti-Christian naturalism, following the neoplatonic tradition, even though he did not express this openly.¹⁹ The friendship with her father, Pellegrino, and the frequentation of the Ferrara court were the means of the relationship between Olympia and Celio Secondo Curione, destined to become her main interlocutor in an intense personal and intellectual dialogue – emblematic of the Christian humanism, as it has been defined – her mentor and the promoter of her fortune to posterity.²⁰

The knowledge of Olympia and the princesses was also enhanced by their readings thanks to Renée's acquisitions for their education: in addition to the many classical and literary texts, Bibles, expositions of the Psalms of Protestant theologians (Pellikan, van Campen, Bucer, Bugenhagen), the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus, and the grammatical works of Melanchthon. In particular in 1544

15 Ziegler J., *Syria* (Strasburg, P. Opilio: 1532), fols. IIv-IIIr: cf. Franceschini, "Literarum studia nobis communia", 214.

16 Ferrara about 1541, in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 93–94.

17 Flood J.L. – Shaw D.J., *Johannes Sinapius (1505–1560). Hellenist and physician in Germany and Italy* (Geneva: 1997).

18 Morata, *The Complete Writings*, ad indicem.

19 See Marchetti V. – De Ferrari A. – Mutini C., "Calcagnini, Celio", in *DBI*, vol. 16 (1973) 492–498.

20 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata".

some texts bought in Venice were addressed to Olympia: Homer in Greek and Latin, Herodotus, Plautus, Quintilian and Brucioli's Gospel. They could also profit from the works of Italian or reformists from the other side of the Alps circulating at court.²¹

In this fertile and cultured microcosm, Olympia immediately distinguished herself as a young girl prodigy. Her precociousness and erudition, her mastery of Latin, Greek and the Classics, to such an extent that she could communicate in the language with the public of the court, aroused admiration. She had a large number of authoritative admirers. The scholar Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, in his *Dialogues* included her among the 'poets of his time', considering her a 'miracle'.²² Calcagnini addressed her as a novel Aspasia and Diotima, nourished and 'divinely' formed in the spirit by the love for poetry sucked with mother's milk.²³ Curione, witness to her public declamations, compared her with the learned virgins of the Greco-Roman antiquity.²⁴ According to Lando, she was one of the major European literates together with Marguerite de Navarre and Isabella Sforza.²⁵ Fascination with her was augmented by the liveliness of her intellect, her great open-mindedness, the vastness and depth of interests, along with the passion she demonstrated in philosophical and literary discussions.²⁶ Indeed, intellectual activity represented the fulcrum of her life, as she wrote to Sinapius, she found an 'extraordinary' pleasure in it, in the belief of being created by God for this purpose and of its superiority over all other human occupations, especially those of women's occupations. Through her studies, she had cultivated those cultural and ethical values that determined the second birth of a conscious individual after the first birth when coming into biological life – that is the transition from mere 'life' to the 'worthy life'.²⁷

Her classical knowledge found expression in her early compositions, in the early forties: a lost *Defensio pro Cicerone*; three *Proemi* to a commentary on Cicero's *Paradoxa*; the *Laus Q. Mutii Scevolae*; two Greek poems.²⁸ These works received acclaim from contemporary scholars, such as, for instance,

21 Franceschini, "Literarum studia nobis communia" 210–216.

22 Giraldi da Ferrara L.G., *Due dialoghi sui poeti dei nostri tempi*, ed. C. Pandolfi, (Ferrara: 1999) 235; Morata, *The Complete Writings* 61.

23 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 93–94; Calcagnini to Olympia [Ferrara, about 1541].

24 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 61–63; Curione to Sixtus Betuleius Basel 25 dec. [1550].

25 Lando Ortensio, *Lettere di molte valorose donne nelle quali appare non esser né di eloquentia né di dottrina alli huomini inferiori* (Venice, Giolito: 1548) 31v.

26 Morata, *The Complete Writings*, 90–91: Olympia to K. Synapius [Ferrara, about 1540].

27 Morata, *The Complete Writings*, 90–92: Olympia to K. Sinapius [Ferrara, about 1540, about 1541].

28 Morata, *The Complete Writings*, 75–83, 178–179.

Curione and Calcagnini, who claimed to have read the *Defensio* 'with the greatest pleasure'.²⁹ Lanfranco Caretti, curator of the modern Italian edition of her works, was instead much more critical, considering the *Proemi* as conventional and scholastic, and the *Laus* better for the mastery of the form and the choice of the subject, the praise of Stoicism, a philosophy treasured by humanists and Morata herself.³⁰

However, analyzed with a historical perspective, both these texts appear extremely relevant for their documentary value, as phases of a training path that ranged from the humanist culture, especially Ciceronian, towards a more in-depth reflection of the issues conveyed until it resulted, in the case of Morata and many others, in a radical criticism of traditional knowledge and religion. The evidence of this development is revealed, under the style and the erudite formulas, by the authentic passion showed by Olympia, in her early writings, towards classical culture, philosophy, education, as well as by the attention paid to the principles of freedom, to the conflict between ideals and reality, and between appearance and substance. Behind the representation of Mucius Scaevola given by Morata, her inner world, her ideals, her reflections on ethical issues that were fundamental for a developing conscience are revealed. The relevance that ethics had for her is clearly showed in the letter written to Kilian Sinapius, in which she did depict ethics as an abstract value but a principle guiding human action.³¹ Precisely this represented, in the intentions of Olympia, the purpose of the composition of her *Laus*, wielding her pen in the service of those principles of which Mucius Scaevola had been an exemplary interpreter. First of all the principle of the sacrifice of life for the ideals of freedom and patriotic defence.³²

Religion had a prominent position on the intellectual horizon of Morata, who had made it the object of reflection in the *Proemia*, seeking a concordance between the Christian faith and the thought of Cicero.³³ However, as revealed by a later testimony, through classical studies she had come to a radical philosophical conclusion: to the epicurean vision, of Lucretian origin, of a universe dominated by chance and deprived of a God intervening in mortal events ('I had fallen, you see, into the error of thinking that everything happened by chance and believing "that there was no God who cared for mortal things"')

29 Morata, *The Complete Writings*, 94–95: Calcagnini to Olympia [Ferrara, before 17 April 1541].

30 Morata O., *Opere*, ed. L. Caretti (Ferrara: 1954) II, 6–10.

31 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 91–92: Olympia to K. Sinapius [about 1541].

32 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 81.

33 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 76.

and to the distance from Christian religion.³⁴ Not an unusual position at that time – likely Calcagnini's influence – that Delio Cantimori defined, speaking of Morata, as characteristic of 'the philosophical humanism and the rationalistic trend such as in Pomponazzi'.³⁵

Presumably it was the philosophical conception of Olympia that motivated the dedication by the man of letters and historian of the Este court, Gaspare Sardi, of his *De triplici philosophia commentariolus* (unfortunately not dated, but *ante* 1549).³⁶ Written in response to a Greek letter in which Olympia expressed her passion for philosophy, the treatise was intended as a guide to avoid the risks of intellectual speculation not oriented by wisdom and separated from the quest for divine truth. This would, he argued, deprive philosophy of its status of 'true science' to make it a mere opinion. After highlighting the absolute superiority of theology in this field, Sardi significantly concluded his treatise with the admonition to devote oneself to philosophy with all of his body and soul, but 'before the Orthodox faith, humility and Christian charity'. According to Sardi, Morata clearly had a considerable intellectual stature, but not in conformity with traditional canons.

Olympia's distance from the usual models also appears in her position on female education. This issue was deeply felt, as we have seen, by the Duchess Renée and had a central role for Olympia. As a young girl, she had a clear awareness of her literary vocation and a determined will to follow it, taking considerable distance from the feminine model of time. A Greek poem (datable to 1540/1541) is eloquent:

I was born a woman, I abandoned women's things, the canvas, the spindle, the thread, the baskets, and I find pleasure only in the flowery meadow of the Muses and in the happy singing of the double peak Parnase. Other women perhaps appreciate other delights; but this is my occupation, this is my happiness.³⁷

34 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 101 (reference to Vergil, *Ecl.*, 8, 35).

35 Cantimori D., *L'Italia e il Papato*, in idem, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento e altri scritti*, ed. A. Prosperi (Turin: 1992) 528. For Calcagnini's influence see Parker, *Introduction*, in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 36–39.

36 Gasparus Sardi, *Epistolarum liber* [...]. *De triplici philosophia commentariolus* (Florence, Lorenzo Torrentini: 1549).

37 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 179. Translation: Morata, *Opere* 50.

The firmness of her beliefs clashed with men's criticisms and pressures to deal with female duties and dowry, certainly better accepted by men of science.³⁸ Her position was known to Calcagnini, who rejoiced at her presence at court since this would allow her to entirely devote herself to her studies and conquer immortality: 'you have gathered [...] the immortal amaranths from the fertile meadows of the Muses [...] that they shall never fade'.³⁹ Those 'flowers', however, were destined to blossom in different forms, and beyond the Alps.

Together with the cultural commitment, in these years an interest in the reformed message – an extremely frequent development in the cultural and spiritual climate of the sixteenth century – developed in Olympia. The relation between the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation is strong and undeniable. Even in Morata's life there were not two distinct phases, a humanistic and a reformed phase, as it has been maintained,⁴⁰ although *a posteriori* and, with apologetic intent, she identified a clear separation between the courtly life, with its ephemeral intellectual activities, and the life entirely dedicated to the 'sacred letters' of exile. Despite her decisive choice for the Reformation, there is a clear continuity and her intellectual/spiritual evolution took place gradually and without interruption. Such a development began in the family environment, and matured through the experiences she had at the court of Renée. These experiences determined for Olympia, starting in 1543/1545, a new spiritual, cultural and existential perspective.

The first expression of her adherence to Protestant doctrines was the Latin translation of the *Decameron's* chapters about Ser Ciappelletto and Abraham the Jew, now dated to 1544/1545 and acknowledged as significant evidence of her religious path.⁴¹ The translations of such chapters had already become an important genre in Humanism, inaugurated by Petrarch. Only Antonio Loschi attempted the translation of the chapter of Ser Ciappelletto, probably because, despite being a central element of the *Decameron*, it presented an explicit theological content of religious controversy. The Abraham the Jew chapter was also full of such implications.

Morata's choice and its translation was significant. With a remarkable mastery of the topics, of style, classical sources, she offered a clearly Protestant

38 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 102.

39 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 94–95: Calcagnini to Olympia [Ferrara, before 17 April 1541].

40 Cignoni M., "Il pensiero di Olimpia Morata nell'ambito della Riforma protestante", *Atti dell'Accademia delle scienze di Ferrara* 40–41 (1982–1984) 191–204, in part. 195–196.

41 Prandi S., "Ex sola Dei benignitate": Olimpia Morata e la traduzione latina delle prime due novelle del *Decameron*", *Schifanoia* 28/29 (2007) 265–278.

and anti-Roman version of the chapters. As shown by Stefano Prandi, there was a systematic elimination of references to the cult of the saints, to prayers, miracles, salvation through work, and in particular to indulgences, to human merits, to the fear of God, to confession, and to the church as a place of worship. Instead, there was a strong emphasis on divine providence, surrender to divine grace, the absolute centrality of the faith in Christ and in the merits of his sacrifice for salvific purposes, given human corruption, and finally on the Eucharist in the Zwinglian sense. The primary source of her positions was most likely Curione's *Pasquillus extaticus* (then published and sent to Pellegrino Morato), of which Olympia proposed a very critical passage on the concept of the saints and the symbolic idea of the Last Supper.⁴² The texts by Terence, Sallust, Lucretius, Horace, and above all those of Cicero, were also useful for Morata's interpretation. Object of worship for Morata and figures close to her such as Johannes Sinapius and Calcagnini, Cicero was then object of debate in heterodox and humanistic contexts after Erasmus, in his *Ciceronianus* (1528), had revived the imitation of the famous pagan rhetor and author of ethical advice within an evangelical Christian context against the prior orientations of the Italian humanist classicism oriented more on form, style and grammar.⁴³ Morata did not take a position in this respect, but her frequent references to Ciceronian texts in the translations still seems indicative of her sensitivity to the issue, not attributable to a mere stylistic choice.

The second consequence of her conversion was the decision to marry the learned Lutheran physician Andreas Grunthler, a member of the Ferrara court, and to follow him to Germany. Her decision came after very painful events. In 1548, after a period spent at home to attend to her dying father, she and her entire family fell into disgrace at the Duchess' court and was dismissed from the service as damsel, without any explanation or signs of gratitude for her dedication. Instead, she was deprived of her garments and personal effects. According to Morata, the cause of this change of mind was slander about her spread by "someone", probably by Jérôme Bolsec, the Duchess' almoner, perhaps a spy of Ercole II, and an individual of dubious morality.⁴⁴ Perhaps the Duchess' deed was also influenced by the loss of Olympia's official function

42 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 101–102.

43 Prandi, "Ex sola Dei benignitate" 274–275; Della Neva J.A., *Ciceronian Controversies* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2007).

44 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 106–108: Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550].

after the marriage of Anna of Este with the French duke François de Guise.⁴⁵ However, although Renée gave her a substantial dowry (500 *lire*),⁴⁶ Olympia's disappointment about the treatment suffered was enormous and further alienated her distance from the life she had lived until that time.

The deterioration of her personal situation came along with a growing repressive climate in Italy, also following the final break with the Protestants for the first deliberations of the Council of Trent in 1547. The effects were visible in the Duchy of Este itself. In the face of a papacy desiring to extend its political control over Romagna, and with France torn by religious tensions, Ercole II took advantage of the difficult situation to bring his wife back into the bosom of the Church and dismiss her *entourage*. Thus, in 1548 the Holy Office could intervene against very prominent members of the Duchess' court (her almoner Richardot, Porto, Brucioli, Ghetti) and in the following year sentenced to death a baker from Faenza, Fanino Fanini, a very active Protestant propagandist in Romagna.⁴⁷ The sentence was carried out one year later (August 22, 1550), despite a great mobilization in his favour by ambassadors, prelates, in addition to Camillo Orsini and Renée of France.

Morata intervened as well, now from Germany, urging her friend Lavinia della Rovere to urge for the liberation of Fanini in Rome and Ferrara. At the time of his death, she celebrated him as a martyr of the Protestant cause for the courage shown in his death for his faith and put it forward as a reason to escape from the 'land of the Antichrist'.⁴⁸ Morata agreed on this with *Giulio da Milano*, whom she listened to at a clandestine sermon in Ferrara during the Lent of 1550, and whose anti-nicodemitic text, *Esortatione al martirio* (in its first edition under the title *Esortatione alli dispersi per Italia*, 1549), she perhaps knew.⁴⁹ The path shown to the 'brothers of Italy' was martyrdom or flight. Olympia opted for an exile that, in spite of being painful, protected her from a crisis of conscience and from the persecution to which the absence of influential protection would have probably exposed her. Fanini's execution marked indeed the beginning of the deterioration of the religious situation in the duchy, followed by the execution of the 'heretic' Giorgio Siculo in 1551

45 On the different hypotheses see Gorris Camos, "Donne ornate di scienza e di virtù" 202–203.

46 Gorris Camos, "Donne ornate di scienza e di virtù" 184.

47 Felici L., "Fanini Fanino", in *DBI*, vol. 44 (1994) 589–592.

48 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 105, 109, 112, 115; Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550]; Lavinia to Olympia, Parma, 2 November [1550]; Olympia to Lavinia, [Schweinfurt, summer 1551]; Olympia to Curione, Schweinfurt, 1 October [1551].

49 Gorris Camos, "Donne ornate di scienza e di virtù" 184–185.

and then by the Duchess' compulsory abjuration from 'heretic doctrines' three years later, with the consequent dismantling of her *entourage*.⁵⁰

Olympia was already in Germany by that time. She had tried to lay a bridge beyond the Alps in 1548, sending her compositions to the Roman King Ferdinand I and to Anton Fugger through Johannes Sinapius.⁵¹ However it was in June 1550 that she moved to Germany with Andreas Grunthler, having already been married at the beginning of the year.⁵² In Ferrara, while waiting for her husband to find them accommodation, she composed the dialogue *Lavinia Ruverensis Ursina et Olympia Morata colloquuntur*, which presented a conversation with Lavinia della Rovere in which she traced the steps of her intellectual path.⁵³ One passage is particularly interesting, despite the retrospective and religiously oriented connotations:

I feel like I'm sinning if I don't spend the time God has given me [...] in these literary studies [...] I was most learned because I read the writers and scholars of all liberal arts and was wallowing in their works like mud. But even as I was exalted to the skies by everyone's praise, I realized that I lacked all learning and was ignorant. I had fallen, you see, into the error of thinking that everything happened by chance and of believing 'that there was no God who cared for mortal things', so great was the darkness that had overwhelmed my soul. But God began to dispel it. A little light of that unique and divine wisdom began to rise for me, and I proved in my own person that all human affairs are ruled by his wisdom.⁵⁴

However, Olympia did not deny her intellectual vocation, adding that her talent and her ardent love for study came from God, and that no one had been able to distract her from her commitment to knowledge, a pursuit she yearned for more than all material goods and life itself. Her dedication to study was also conceived as necessary to avoid wasting time, a gift from God, according to a typically reformed conception. In the genre of literary fiction, Lavinia expressed her opinion about the choice of devoting herself to 'divine studies', a choice from above, and superior, since it aimed at celebrating the eternal omnipotence of God. Olympia intended to implement her agenda through

50 Prosperi A., *L'eresia del Libro grande. Storia di Giorgio Siculo e della sua setta* (Milan: 2000).

51 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 97–98: Olympia to J. Sinapius, Ferrara, 12 April, 30 May [1548]; Flood – Schaw, *Johannes Synapius* 126–127.

52 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 99–100: Olympia to J. Sinapius, Ferrara, 19 May [1550].

53 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 100–103.

54 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 101.

study and writing, rather than publicly exhibiting her extraordinary erudition and rhetorical skills. The journey towards the 'true virtue' implied in fact the devaluation of her court activities, since these were only aimed at obtaining formal praise, perceived as ephemeral.

In this perspective, Olympia considered the dramatic break with Renée of France as an extremely painful event, but also providential for her spiritual health. In this sense, she interpreted it in the *Dialogue*, since at the moment of solitude and dejection she had experienced in herself divine providence, governing all human affairs.⁵⁵ In her first letter to Curione from exile, she wrote, 'If I remained longer in that court, it would have been all over for me and my salvation'. Her awareness of the transience and emptiness of material things, 'has increased my desire to live in that heavenly home, where it is more pleasant to live for just one day than to spend a thousand years in the courts of princes'. The motivation for her decision to emigrate was therefore the belief that it was part of the ineluctable will of God, who had destined her to the study of the sacred things, abandoning the 'land of the Antichrist', but also to a husband capable of appreciating her qualities.⁵⁶

For her marriage to Andreas Grunthler, who had married for love, she composed a prayer in Greek, which reveals the fundamental value and the sacredness she attributed to the conjugal bond, in line with the Erasmian and Protestant position, but also an authentic hope for happiness.⁵⁷ Her feelings, however, broke out with a rare ardor and sincerity – and rarely documented – in the letter she sent to her husband while awaiting the move to Germany:

I am so sad that you've left me and will be away for so long [...] I swear by all that's holy that there is nothing dearer or sweeter to me than you. And I know you feel it too [...] Then you'd know clearly how great is my love for you [...] So I beg you, I beseech you by your faith, that you do everything in your power to make sure that we're together in your country this summer.⁵⁸

Andreas fully returned her feelings. During their exile in Germany, their mutual love was also sustained by an intellectual activity and a shared religious

55 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 101–102.

56 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 106–108: Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550].

57 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 181.

58 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 98–99: Olympia to Grunthler [Ferrara, April/May 1550].

commitment, given the great erudition of Grunthler.⁵⁹ So, when she died, Olympia was commemorated above all as a ‘companion of your [sc. Andreas’] studies’ before being his ‘wife of your bed’.⁶⁰

2 Exile in Germany

The life in Germany of Olympia Morata, together with her husband and little brother Emilio, began in Kaufbeuren, near Augsburg, in the summer of 1550. Olympia saw it as a landing in a safe harbor after a stormy voyage (‘After being tossed about by many huge waves [...] as though in a arbor’).⁶¹ The spatial journey represented for her, symbolically, the spiritual journey from the ‘slavery of Egypt’ to the ‘golden freedom’ of a land where men and women could express their religious affiliation, all being priests of God.⁶² This was an agenda that Morata included in the providential plan of God and of which she accepted the consequences, living the calling to such a destiny as divine grace in the fullest sense of the New Testament.⁶³ Despite the vicissitudes suffered in Germany, she declared that she was ‘happier to suffer’ for the truth of the Gospel.⁶⁴ In fact, she remained resolute in her refusal to return to the ‘land of the Antichrist’ due to the persecutions and pressures inflicted on (heterodox) Christians: ‘I would rather go to the ends of the earth than return to where that man has such a power to be cruel’.⁶⁵ However, time would demonstrate that the country receiving her, would not turn out to be that long-awaited oasis of religious peace.

Their exile began under the best auspices. The German *respublica literarium* received Morata with great interest, whose fame as a ‘glory of womankind both for piety and for wisdom’⁶⁶ spread very quickly. Scholars requested and circulated the compositions of this ‘new Sappho’. For instance, Sixtus Betuleius, then rector of the Augsburg grammar school requested and obtained them from Curione. Betuleius enthusiastically attested to Morata’s wisdom and

59 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 196–198; Grunthler to Curione, Heidelberg, 22 November 1555. Andreas was also a learned Greek scholar.

60 Saracco, “E le vostre figlie profeteranno” 342.

61 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 106: Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550].

62 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 113–114: Curione to Olympia, Basel, 5 September [1551].

63 Saracco, “E le vostre figlie profeteranno” 342.

64 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 144: Olympia to her sister Vittoria, Heidelberg, 8 August [1554].

65 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 115: Olympia to Curione, Schweinfurt, 1 October [1551].

66 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 158: Rosa to Olympia [Schweinfurt, 1554?].

beliefs and spread the texts that she gradually sent to the circles of reformed humanism. Jakob Baldenburger had the same judgment, and he sent her compositions to Joachim Vadianus to acquaint him with her dedication to what they considered to be the true faith, her piety and her culture.⁶⁷ The correspondence that Olympia had with many figures of the Protestant world contributed to the dissemination of her ideas, and solidified her reputation. Figures such as Flacius Illyricus, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Charles du Moulin, Joachim Camerarius, Johannes Cremer, Andreas Rosa, Andreas Campanus, Georg Hörmann Laurenz Schleier, in addition to Sinapius brothers and Curione, they all communicated with her. The admiration she aroused was reflected in the poems dedicated to her by prestigious intellectuals such as Jacob Mycillus, Petrus Cortonaeus, Gilbertus Cognatus, Theodor Zwinger, Philip van Marnix, Jerome Angenoust, Caspar Stiblin and then, after her death, in the epitaphs.⁶⁸

In Kaufbeuren, the Grunthler couple stayed with their friend Georg Hörmann, advisor of the Roman King Ferdinand I of Bohemia-Hungary, who became wealthy with the Fuggers, but also a man of culture who had important intellectual relationships (for instance with Oecolampadius and Melancthon). He offered Olympia direct access to his rich library while her husband gave him medical care.⁶⁹ The Grunthlers' destination was, however, Schweinfurt, Andreas' hometown, where he had obtained a position as municipal doctor from the city authorities to deal with possible epidemics brought by the Spanish troops stationed there after the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League and the imposition of the Augsburg *Interim*. They reached the city in the summer of 1551, after a visit in Würzburg to Johannes Sinapius, who became doctor of the prince-bishop Melchior Zobel von Giebelstadt. Instead, Andreas Grunthler refused the prestigious Chair of Medicine in Linz, a Catholic city, offered to him by Ferdinand I through Hörmann's mediation, to be consistent with his own faith. As Olympia declared,

Please let us know [...] whether the Antichrist is raging here [...] I would follow him [i.e. her husband] with a brave heart even to the desolate Caucasus or the uttermost corner of the West [Hor. Epod. 1, 11–14] [...]

67 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 63: Baldenburger to Vadianus, Basel, 20 November 1550.

68 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 104–177, 208–213, 215–233. The German edition of Morata's letters was edited by R. Kössling (Leipzig: 1990).

69 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 107: Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550]; Hampe T., "Der Kaufbeurer Patrizier Jörg Hörmann und seine Beziehungen zu Kunst und Künstlern", in *Festschrift für Gustav von Bezold zu seinem 70. Geburtstage dargebracht vom Germanischen Museum* (Nuremberg: 1918) 1–43.

but we will hasten with oar and sail to the place where we would be allowed to profess ourselves openly as Christians and not have to use the ceremonies of the popes.⁷⁰

Olympia had soon realized the complex religious situation in the Empire and the conflicts ready to explode between the Catholic and Protestant fronts, observing that, in Würzburg, 'idolatry and the Word of God [are] both together, as in Samaria'.⁷¹

In Schweinfurt, the Grunthlers initially settled with Andreas' wealthy parents. A plaque was then placed on the house commemorating the stay of Olympia, famous for her writings and religiosity.⁷² The town, located between Bamberg and Würzburg, had a certain cultural vivacity despite its small size. The residence of the Grunthlers became a meeting place for representatives of the intellectual and religious world. Such individuals included the rector of the Latin school and theologian Johannes Cremer (already known in Ferrara), Andreas Campanus, future teacher in the Latin school of Mosbach, the Lutheran pastor Johann Lindemann, the schoolteachers Johann Kellermann and Andreas Rosa, and the Rosarius brothers, one of them an astronomer, the other a singer. Olympia established a strong personal and intellectual relationship with them, which continued even after she left Schweinfurt.⁷³ She also maintained a close relationship with Johannes Sinapius, who was writing a history of Schweinfurt, his city of origin, to be included in the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster.⁷⁴ With the 'good men who are here' Morata shared the results of her religious, classical and biblical studies, which she resumed with great dedication, broadening them through reading the German reformed theologians.⁷⁵ She also became the bearer of Italian religious culture

70 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 127–128: Olympia to A. Hörmann, Olympia to G. Hörmann, Schweinfurt [1552].

71 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 149: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, Hedelberg, 8 August [1554].

72 *Olympia Fulvia Morata. Stationen* 28: 'Anno 1551 has aedes habitavit Olympia Fulvia coniux Grundleri medici foemina docta pia'. The plaque was removed in 1950 and it is now housed at the Schweinfurt Museum, a town where the women's Gymnasium has been named after Morata.

73 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 127; Vorländer D., "Olympia Fulvia Morata – eine evangelische Humanistin in Schweinfurt", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 39 (1970) 95–113.

74 Flood-Shaw, *Johannes Sinapius* 132 ff.

75 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 127–128: Olympia to A. Hörmann, Olympia to G. Hörmann, Schweinfurt [1552].

'exporting' to the intellectual circles of Schweinfurt Curione's *Pasquillus ecstaticus* and his *De liberis pie christianeque educandis* (1542), a manifesto of innovative Curionian pedagogy that promoted the education of women.⁷⁶ Anton Hörmann and Laurenz Schleenried, then studying at universities in Italy, with whom she corresponded, facilitated the arrival of letters and books from the peninsula.⁷⁷

Morata's didactic methodology was expressed in the education of two children: her little brother Emilio and Theodora, the daughter of Sinapius and of the former dame of the Duchess of Este Françoise de Boussiron.⁷⁸ She was also a pedagogical and spiritual guide of the young Michael Weber, whom she directed towards humanistic and biblical studies.⁷⁹ Her pedagogical method was based on Curione's *De liberis*: a maieutic method, based on a few works carefully selected and adapted for the individual purposes in their teaching instead of relying on many works studied in a mediocre way, following the indication given by Pliny the Younger. Among the texts, she privileged the Holy Scriptures as the first source of ethical and religious principles. At the same time Morata tried to exert a moralizing and religious influence, by passionately interceding with a German preacher (anonymized by Curione in the epistolary). 'Over and over I ask, beg, and beseech, you through Christ, that at long last you change your ways, for the role of your office, for the 'stumbling block' and even for your own salvation'.⁸⁰

In the serene atmosphere of the early years in Schweinfurt, Morata composed several texts. The most important was the Greek translation of several Psalms (1, 2, 23, 34, 46, 70, 125), immediately sent to Curione as a proud testimony of her spiritual conversion.⁸¹ The work, which made her famous among the German Hellenists, is still considered a unique case in the European cultural history as an 'exemplary product of both halves of biblical humanism'.⁸² While there were translations in Latin (by Obsopoeus, Flaminio, Buchanan etc.), Morata's translation was the first in Greek, and with a Homeric style employed

76 The *De liberis* was dedicated to her father, but Olympia read it in Würzburg: Morata, *The Complete Writings* 116: Olympia to Curio, Schweinfurt, 1 October [1551].

77 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 126–128.

78 Flood-Shaw, *Johannes Sinapius* 120, 124, 132, 135, 145–148 and passim.

79 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 128–129: Olympia to Weber, Schweinfurt, 20 November 1552.

80 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 134–136: Olympia to a certain German preacher, Schweinfurt [n.d].

81 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 108: Olympia to Curione, Augsburg, 7 October [1550].

82 Editor's Introduction in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 184–185. These were praised by Du Moulin: 173–174, du Moulin to Olympia, Worms, 14 July 1555.

with great mastery. The text, then set to music by her husband according to the reformed tradition,⁸³ was conceived with devotional purposes to be read and sung by a large number of those 'learned in the languages' in Europe. However, Olympia had to think especially of her compatriots when giving voice to her painful condition of exile, away from her family and homeland, and how her nostalgia 'increases every day' –⁸⁴ expressing the pain tolerance and faith in that God 'who cares for all things, who sees all things for all ages' (Psalm 151). Her trust in her Deity nourished and strengthened the faithful and showed a safe path to the truth, while caring about worldly things was in vain:

O blessed one, who leads his life, not persuaded/by the evil-weavings of the profane, nor tarries on the path/of the sinner, nor sits upon the couch of the destructive/man, but the law of God night and day/ wholly is a care to him in his heart unceasingly ever./Like a flourishing tree, planted beside/the streams of an ever-flowing river, is weighed down/with ripe fruit. The wind does not bring its leaves to the ground./So the man who delights his heart in the laws of God/will flower forever upon the much-nourishing earth,/and in all the works that he works happiness follows/ [...] For God completes the road of the good man/but the profane walk along a vain road.⁸⁵

Nevertheless the reformed motif of faith in providence and the components of classicism were combined together. In Psalm 23, for example, God was portrayed as 'the king of great Olympus', which made her resolute 'if I go through the misty gloom of monstrous Hades'.⁸⁶

Under the classical pseudonyms of Theophila and Philotima, in 1551 she wrote a dialogue between her and Lavinia della Rovere. The text *Theophila et Philotima colloquuntur* represented an extremely significant document of Olympia's Christian militancy, both on a theoretical and a practical level, through examples taken from the Bible and from contemporary events.⁸⁷ As a 'lover of God' (Theophila), she illustrated the strength of faith in the promises of God to overcome the suffering caused by the voluntary abstention from a

83 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 186–192. The editions by Luther, Müntzer, Marot, Calvin are well-known.

84 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 117: Olympia to Lavinia della Rovere, Schweinfurt [Winter 1551/1552].

85 Psalm 1, in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 186f.

86 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 188, 192.

87 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 118–126.

quiet and comfortable life, consistently with her own ideas and in view of the triumph of Gospel truth. All human events, she maintained, were dependent on the will of God. However, Morata's religious discourse did not remain on the speculative level and had a precise cultural meaning. As in the literary sphere, she embodied a new image of woman, engaged in spiritual life, free in the faith, far from worldly temptations, but also ready to take on with awareness and strength tasks, also of great responsibility, assigned by God and to face the misfortunes of fate. The cases of the queens Ester and Abigail, 'holy and religious women who were placed by God in the highest station of dignity' were exemplary in this regard, as well as Sybil, Duchess of Saxony, and a Protestant martyr. Olympia pointed to them as models to Philotima/Lavinia, who was the spokesperson for the doubts and difficulties of many Italian reformed noblewomen to witness their faith. She reminded her of the need to renounce the futility of idleness, luxury, the daily pleasures of the courts, in Ferrara as in other cities, and of devoting herself instead to divine things. The inspiration would have been provided by the Holy Scripture, with its teachings on the right path to follow in existential distress. Great comfort would also have come from the example of the many who bore ignominy, persecution, and exile, to carry the cross of Christ. The celestial goods, certain for the chrism of the Holy Spirit, were such to repay sacrifices because they were immortal and salvatory. The way to heaven was opened by faith: 'Who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved,' Teofila briefly concluded quoting Saint Paul (Rm 10:13).

The fictitious dialogue with Lavinia represented a continuation of the one she had with other Italian friends through correspondence. The importance of spiritual letters, already highlighted by the studies,⁸⁸ is confirmed by Morata's writings. Research has revealed the alterations and interpolations in Olympia's correspondance due to the editor Curione who was eager to make it fit to his own thought and theology, constructing the image of her that he wanted to build. Despite of those changes,⁸⁹ the correspondence of Olympia represents an important perspective that helps the scholar to overcome the loss of her writings and better understand her ideas and life. Modelled on the Ciceronian model, and full of authentic personal motions, her letters, above all those addressed to the Italian coreligionists, were often also theological sermons. Her

88 Zarri G. (ed.), *Per lettera. La scrittura epistolare femminile tra archivio e tipografia, secoli XV–XVII* (Rome: 1999); Daybell J. (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* (New York: 2001).

89 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 130–133: in particular, the variations concerned the predestination doctrine, the references to the contemporary political context, the pedagogical aspects.

letters seem to be an instrument of evangelization, as well as communication. The catechetical intent is evident in how they are structured and in their content. They are arranged according to the Augustinian scheme of sermon writing (doctrinal teaching, edification, calling to conversion), the discourse presents a strong parenetic feature, many theological reflections supported by biblical quotes and warnings related to the conduct of a Christian life.

This correspondence was part of the overall religious activity conducted by Morata for the 'brothers and sisters of Italy', towards whom her attention was unfailing – an attitude common to many figures in the diaspora. Morata's main purpose was to strengthen the faith of her coreligionists against the temptation of opportunistic or nicodemitic attitudes. Her intervention responded to the needs of the times. The issue of religious dissimulation, fundamental for Italians, strongly exploded after the case of Fanini and that, even more striking, of the reformed lawyer from Cittadella, Francesco Spiera, who died of despair of abjuration in 1549. Leading theologians, both Italian and otherwise, also contributed to the debate about dissimulation, with different emphases and arguments, such as Calvin, Bullinger, Musculus, Vergerio, Curione, Giulio da Milano, and Siculo. What was at stake was great: not only religious activity, but the notion of religion and church itself.⁹⁰ In that debate, a relevant and particular position was taken by Curione, in whose *Francisci Spierae [...] Historia* (1550), a collection edited together with Lelio Sozzini, the criticism of Nicodemism was moderated by an exhortation to trust in the immense mercy of God. Furthermore, Curione provided an unsettling interpretation of the Antichrist, identifying it in the 'poison' inherent in all coercive behaviours and not only in the Roman Church.⁹¹ In his *Quattro lettere cristiane, con uno paradosso* (1552), he advised the faithful to pray and read the Bible at home without exercising their religion in public, while he advised the others to become stronger in their faith and escape the 'Babylonian servitude' trusting in heavenly assistance.⁹²

These same topics were included in Olympia's letters. Such themes were frequently recurring, especially in the letters to her friend Cherubina Orsini, who told her that she was concealing her true religious beliefs from her family members.⁹³ To comfort her, Olympia reminded her of the cases of saints, prophets, martyrs, but especially of Peter who, after having denied, 'was made

90 Prosperi, *L'eresia del Libro Grande* 108 ff.

91 Curione Celio Secondo, *Francisci Spierae ... historia* (s.l., 1550) A 2r-v.

92 Curione Celio Secondo, *Quattro lettere cristiane* (Basel, Oporinus?: 1552) 5–6.

93 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 147–153; Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, Heidelberg 8 August [1554].

so strong that he later rejoiced to suffer for Christ' through prayer, the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, the faith in the promises and omnipotence of God. The Father offered an invincible shield: 'if your time has not come, no one can pull a hair off your head (*nessuno vi potrà tirare un capello del capo*)'. The figure of Christ stood as an example in order to enjoy salvation.

Morata was aware that the inclination to 'sit on two stools', according to the Curionian expression, to serve Christ and the Antichrist, was widespread among the 'saints' of all Europe.⁹⁴ Personal experience meant that she understood the consequences of religious choice, and missing what she loved. She also possessed a sense of abandonment and fear, an awareness of her own precariousness born by a hostile reality that surrounded her. She knew that she was not able to escape either the 'world' or the 'Devil' – whose attempts to destroy her faith, she narrated, had been tireless. However, Olympia never abandoned her militant position. As she wrote, 'the crown is not given except to those who compete', she declared.⁹⁵ To the hesitations and fears of the Italian friends, she replied reiterating the need to trust in the invincible strength of faith and to 'follow Christ with the cross on the shoulder' in exile, renouncing to 'the fleshpots of Egypt' (to the 'ollas aegypticas') – a metaphor treasured by Curione and to the Italian exiles that evoked the symbol of Roman greed and corruption.⁹⁶ According to *Giulio da Milano*, this was the 'glorious escape' enabling one 'to magnify the glory of God, to serve him faithfully in our vocation, to obey his commandment and to the benefit of our brothers'.⁹⁷ However, choosing a faith for Morata also was extremely important with regard to the female condition. Such a decision led to the renunciation of luxurious clothes, jewelry and, above all, the good looks, not only for moral reasons, but because, she believed, the 'coenus' was the 'mud' imposed by social customs on the faces of women that metaphorically masked their inner being, their spiritual and intellectual wealth. Olympia wanted to overcome the codes of behaviour imposed upon women, embodying pride and a profound belief in 'a new and unprecedented female model of responsibility and equality'.⁹⁸

94 Curione Celio Secondo, *Pasquino in estasi* (Rome, nella bottega di Pasquino: 1545) fol. M1r.

95 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 142, 148, 150: Olympia to Lavinia della Rovere, Heidelberg, 1 August [1554]; to Cherubina Orsini, Heidelberg, 8 August [1554] (quotation: 1 Cor. 9, 24–25).

96 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 132–133: Olympia to Valentino Carchesio, Schweinfurt [about April 1553].

97 The essay was included in the second edition Giulio da Milano, *Esortatione al martirio* (Poschiavo, Dolfino Landolfi: 1552).

98 Saracco, "E le vostre figlie profeteranno" 349.

However, Morata, aware of the difficult Italian situation, ensured that her Italian coreligionists could acquire a greater knowledge of Protestant doctrines. According to the Protestant teaching, reading of the Bible and prayer were paramount. Therefore Olympia did not cease to urge friends and family to always turn to the Holy Scriptures – ‘lamp unto your feet’ –⁹⁹ and to pray. In the footsteps of Luther, she told her friends that they could count on this as a way to realize divine promises in times of suffering, and provide freedom for a conscience oppressed by the ‘Roman Antichrist’, and an effective antidote against satanic temptations.¹⁰⁰ In Morata’s evangelization work, she sent reformed texts to Italy. Furthermore, she requested that Flacius Illyricus and Vergerio translate the works of Luther – that she found ‘wonderful’ – to spread them on the peninsula.¹⁰¹ In particular, in 1555, she asked the former bishop of Capodistria and then preacher of court in Tübingen to translate the *Great Catechism* of the reformer, being convinced of its usefulness for Italians, in spite of its controversial treatment of the Last Supper. On the Eucharistic issue, which had divided the Protestant world and still occupied Vergerio, Olympia adopted a common position of many Italians of the diaspora towards doctrinal conflicts from the other side of the Alps. She considered them irrelevant, easy to overcome for the sake of religious harmony, necessary for the realization of the glory of God and the salvation of the Church.

Religious conflicts then had a direct impact upon Morata’s life. And it had been a dramatic experience. In 1553 Schweinfurt was besieged, occupied, and burnt. Its population was decimated. This all occurred during the power struggle conducted in 1553–1554 by Albrecht II. Alcibiades Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach against the bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, the city of Nuremberg and their allied Dukes Moritz of Saxony and Heinrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel concerning the extension of each of their domains. The Catholic and Protestant princes, united against the threat of new conflicts in Germany, got the better of Alcibiades in the Battle of Sieverhausen in 1533, but with terrible losses. In the contemporary chronicles the ‘Margrave War (*Markgräfler Krieg*)’ it was indeed reported as an impressive event for its tragedy. The description of the events also referred to Morata’s

99 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 142: Olympia to Lavinia della Rovere, Heidelberg, 1 August [1554], reference to Psalm, 119, 105.

100 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 148–149: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, Heidelberg, 8 August [1554]. Luther had expressed his position in his *Sermon on prayer* (1519).

101 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 133–134, 167–168: Olympia to Flacius Illyricus, Schweinfurt, 26 May 1553; to Vergerio [Heidelberg, spring 1555].

escape (*Olympia fugata et Schwinfurdia vastata*), significant evidence of the relation established between the scholar and her adopted town.¹⁰²

Olympia herself described the distressing personal misadventures and the war in the letters to Curione, Lavinia, Cherubina, and her sister Victoria, with great expressiveness, offering, according to Goethe, an unprecedented picture of the contemporary religious conflicts.¹⁰³ There had been fourteen months of war and terrible hardships, coming from hammering bombings, looting, soldiers' contemptuousness, diseases, hunger, desperation, and fires (a fate that befell the Grunthlers' house and library), all this alongside the risk of death from plague and the jailing of Andreas, who was also deprived of the money needed for his release. This was followed by an equally painful escape on foot for many miles: Andreas and Olympia, 'so thin and ill', 'dishevelled, covered in rags' as they had lost their shoes and so much of their clothing had been stolen, sought refuge in Hammelburg, where the bishop of Nuremberg ordered them to be imprisoned and put to death, and where she contracted malaria. Their vicissitudes ended thanks to the hospitality of Philipp von Rienecke, Count of Erbach and the generosity of an unknown noble, probably aware of their reputation, which enabled them to reach Heidelberg, the final destination of their wanderings.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless Morata did not lose the opportunity to draw theological considerations from the tragedy and its positive conclusion. Her interweaving of personal history and historical events, and her interpretation of both of them in a theological light, were also characteristic of the Protestant vision of the action of the divine in real time.¹⁰⁵ With abundant evidence of the Scripture (mainly Isaiah), she interpreted it primarily as a divine punishment for the sins of humanity, a warning especially for those who remained in 'that Babylon'. However, the explosion of the war and the religious conflicts even in the country of the Gospel" led her to consider that Satan was everywhere. Echoing Curione, she declared that 'here everything burns with war and everywhere holy men are oppressed with sufferings [...] so savage is the Devil'.¹⁰⁶

102 'Jesu praelucente. Herrn Dr Johann Hoefels Olympia fugata et Schwinfurdia vastata, 1554' (Stadtarchiv Schweinfurt, Sammlung Georgii, Varia, 86:88, see Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 112).

103 Quoted in Kössling, *Olympia Morata* 218.

104 Letters in Morata, *The Complete Writings* 126–138, 147–148 (see the quotation at p. 148).

105 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 119–120.

106 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 142–143: Olympia to Lavinia della Rovere, Heidelberg, 1 August [1554].

Moreover, the hardships Olympia experienced were, for her, incontrovertible proof of the existence of the divine providence and of the need to trust in it. As Olympia wrote it to Cherubina, God 'does not abandon His people in their difficulties, so that you may be confirmed in faith that He will not leave you, although it might be necessary to suffer some things for the truth'.¹⁰⁷ This idea of the work of God was part of the broader conception of divine predestination, which Morata had been reflecting on since her years spent in Ferrara. The issue had been addressed by her father, Pellegrino, who in a sonnet had celebrated 'the supreme providence' of God and had debated the issue with Calcagnini, who was instead in favour of the Erasmian idea of the free will.¹⁰⁸ Olympia had passionately discussed it with Lavinia Della Rovere, wondering if knowledge of the election was necessary for the act of faith. Later, from Germany, she sent her Luther's texts so that she might gain trust in the divine grace, and become convinced of the existence of predestination.¹⁰⁹ The image of a God who preordains and governs everything, fair in punishing but generous in saving, represents a *Leitmotiv* of her correspondence.¹¹⁰ Ultimately, Morata advocated a trusting surrender to providence, rather than reliance on speculations and theological discussions, as did not want to 'dispute the high counsel of the Lord'.¹¹¹ She intervened on the issue only to fight a lax morality that could be generated by divine selection, once again in her Italian coreligionists, inclined to take the eternal decree as a pretext for not being engaged in religious life.¹¹²

Morata's conception of predestination was clearer than that of Curione, expecting the existence of a great 'mass of condemned [*massa perditionis*]' distinct from the chosen ones, at least according to Curione's corrections in Morata's correspondence.¹¹³ While still believing in the idea of a merciful God, she did not share his latitudinarism, that is an 'open sky theology' considered characteristic of the great part of the Italian heterodox movement.¹¹⁴ By combining the reformed and Erasmian notions, predestination became, in this

107 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 148: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, 8 August [1554].

108 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 121.

109 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 117: Olympia to Lavinia della Rovere, Schweinfurt, [Winter 1551/1552].

110 See for instance Morata, *The Complete Writings* 147: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, 8 August [1554].

111 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 152: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, 8 August [1554].

112 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 151: Olympia to Cherubina Orsini, 8 August [1554].

113 Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 132. The reworks can be verified since it is the only original copy preserved.

114 Seidel Menchi S., *Erasmus in Italia, 1520–1580* (Turin: 1987) 143–167.

perspective, a selection for salvation almost, if not completely, universal. This vision had found a lucid and fertile expression in the *De amplitudine beati regni Dei, Dialogi sive libri duo* (1554), written by Curione in response to the burning at the stake of Michael Servetus in Geneva and to its legitimacy by Calvin. The critique of the restrictive Calvinist predestinationist doctrine became a basis for modern theories of religious freedom and tolerance.¹¹⁵ Curione did not obtain, as requested, the opinion of Olympia on the work when he sent it to her, due to her death.¹¹⁶ Nor do we know her opinion on that crucial execution of Servetus, which initiated the debate on tolerance in Europe. Her rejection of religious coercion, however, emerges from clear standpoints – against Fanini's execution and the repression in Ferrara, against the bishop of Nuremberg, the Marian persecution of which Bernardino Ochino was victim – and, on the other hand, from the praises of the freedom of faith of the Counts of Erbach, a real 'miracle' in such allegedly dark times.¹¹⁷ However, the Curionian rework corroborated their common theological premises on the subject.

Following the tragedy of Schweinfurt a 'miracle of salvation', for the Grunthlers, seemed to arrive their settlement in Heidelberg. They went there because Andreas had been promised Chair of Medicine at the university, thanks to the efforts of Johannes Sinapius, who worked with an emissary of the Palatine Count, Dr. Hartmann Hartmanni. When communicating this news to Olympia, Sinapius invited her not to believe in Homer's considerations on the volatility of fate, but rather in the idea of the provisional nature of life on earth and of a heavenly reward for earthly troubles.¹¹⁸ Following their humanistic dialogue, as a *viaticum* for the new life in Heidelberg, however, he sent her Plutarch's *Lives* and suggested to her that she composed a poem to narrate the vicissitudes of Schweinfurt and 'avenge' her destiny and that of the town.¹¹⁹ Curione also urged her to do so, in the belief that she would have written a 'Sophoclean work' through which she would have conquered, first woman in Germany, the well-deserved wreath of *poeta laureatus*.¹²⁰ For this reason he ensured that she could find at the Frankfurt book fair the *Commentaries* on

115 Felici L., "Da Calvino contro Calvino. Celio Secondo Curione e il *De amplitudine beati regni Dei dialogi sive libri duo*", in Peyronel Rambaldi S. (ed.), *Giovanni Calvino e la Riforma in Italia. Influenze e conflitti* (Turin: 2011) 385–403.

116 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 174–176: Curio to Olympia, Basel 28 August 1555.

117 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 105, 109, 112, 115, 137, 140–141, 144, 156–157, 165.

118 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 138–139: J. Sinapius to Olympia, Würzburg, 28 June 1554.

119 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 153–156: J. Sinapius to A. Grunthler, Würzburg, 25 July 1554; Flood-Shaw, Johannes Sinapius 206 ss.

120 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 159–161: Curione to Olympia, Basel, 1 September 1554.

Jeremiah that Morata had requested. Thanks to Curione, she also received other books from the Basel publishers (Isengrin, Oporin, Herwagen, Froben, Episcopius), who helped reconstitute her library lost in the fire of Schweinfurt. Curione sent her the Iliad, which gave her reasons for reflection, together with the Commentaries to Isaiah.¹²¹ Morata then prepared to carry out the project of an epic Latin poem on the history of Schweinfurt. In spite of the new religious perspective adopted in Germany, she was and remained a scholar, who was intellectually nourished from Classical culture and aspired to glory in the republic of letters.¹²²

However, the planned work was never carried out, initially due to the great difficulties encountered by the Grunthlers throughout 1554. Their economic difficulties were serious, due to Andreas's lack of a salary – such as to force him to borrow money and sell their jewellery – and exacerbated by the hospitality they granted to refugees from Schweinfurt. It was difficult for Olympia to devote herself to her studies due both to her domestic duties in the absence of servants, and to the loss of her books.¹²³ Heidelberg, that did not turn out to be the biblical 'promised land' due to the continued presence of Catholics ('This city has good preachers, but also priests and friars and the situation is still not too clear'), was disappointing.¹²⁴ The atmosphere was made even drearier by the terrible news friends reported about Schweinfurt, where war and the plague continued to claim many victims, including many common friends (Leonard Zeul, Laurenz Rosa, Ludwig Scheffer) and their families.¹²⁵ Given her reputation for 'piety and probity', Olympia was also informed of the situation by the field chaplain of Margrave Alcibiades, then pastor of Ehrenfriedersdorf, Wolfgang Rupprecht.¹²⁶ In turn, she found words of consolation for the loss of the son for the noble Valentin Wehner, city councilor of Schweinfurt.¹²⁷

Curione and Morata's German friends, Sinapius, Cremer, Rosa, Campanus, gathered around Olympia, offering practical and spiritual aid. Rosa called her 'the glory of womankind both for piety and for wisdom'; Curione informed her that Johannes Herold regarded her as a 'sacred prophetess', urging her to consider her salvation from war as a proof of divine justice; Campanus celebrated

121 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 162: Olympia to Curione, Heidelberg, 1 December [1554].

122 See Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 123.

123 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 156–158, 161–165.

124 The sentence was deleted by Curione for political reasons: Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 131.

125 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 154–155, 157–159, 163.

126 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 171–173: Rupprecht to Olympia, Ehrenfriedersdorf, 25 June 1555.

127 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 166–167: Olympia to V. Wehner, Heidelberg, 10 February [1555].

her fame 'for her remarkable erudition'. The Huguenot jurist Charles du Moulin decided to go to Heidelberg to meet her personally, the 'most learned and Christian lady', and 'the glory of women'.¹²⁸ Besides such praise, there was a continuous exchange of ideas and books.

The future was brightened by the position at University obtained by Andreas, and by the personal success of Olympia. It has long been believed that, had she lived long enough, she would have obtained a position teaching Greek at the University of Heidelberg. In reality, Morata perhaps only gave private lessons. However, her presence considerably contributed to the development of the studies in that university, that later on played an important role in the history of Greek humanism in Germany.¹²⁹

However fate was stacked against her. Overcome by difficulties, Olympia contracted tuberculosis. In her last letters to Curione, her awareness of the approaching of the end became extremely clear, the idea of eternal peace in Christ calmed her. Even then she thought of her literary production, in the aspiration to make it her monument for posterity. After having reconstructed it by heart, she sent it to Curione with the request of polishing it as a new Aristarchus of Samothrace.¹³⁰

On October 26, 1555 Olympia died. Her husband and younger brother soon followed, infected by the plague that had broken out in town. She was buried in Saint Peter's church. The tombstone described her as a 'woman whose genius and singular knowledge of both languages, whose probity in morals and highest zeal for piety were always held above the common level. Men's judgement of her life was confirmed with divine testimony by the most holy and peaceful death which she died'.¹³¹ The German intellectual world consecrated her as a muse in many epitaphs. The composition of Mycillus praised her qualities in the German setting:

The Italian girl Olympia is covered by this pile of earth/the leading woman among the Pierian choruses,/who once left the country of her fathers with her husband/and settled by your waves, Oh blond German,/ here where the vineyard keeps the distant Franks busy/and nearby the

128 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 158–161, 173–174.

129 For a discussion of the evidence see Holzberg N., "Olympia Morata und die Anfänge des Griechischen an der Universität Heidelberg", *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 31 (1987) 77–93; Morata, *The Complete Writings* 30–31, while it is reported by Hess "Lateinischer Dialog" 139.

130 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 176–177: Olympia to Curione [Heidelberg, before 26 October 1555].

131 Morata, *The Complete Writings* 224.

river Main overflows with clear waters./When the bestial soldiers raged in the burning town/and carried off the holy objects profaned by the enemy hand/twice robed of her possessions, twice near cruel death/she came to the rivers of the Neckar joined to the fords./She had added the writings of the Greeks to the Latin Muses/and was equally learned in either tongue./A rare specimen of happy Nature, and the only woman/to be set ahead of all men for genius./But neither the honour of praise nor grace holds back the Fates./She died, and lies buried in the long night./Pray for rest and quiet sleep for her ashes,/visitor. Everything else is free from death.¹³²

Olympia Morata immediately became an icon of the Germanic Protestant world. Andreas Grunthler began the construction of her image, giving her death an edifying description, such as to make of Olympia a holy heroine of the Reformation. According to her husband, close to death, she had shown serenity and joy in reuniting with Christ.¹³³ Curione was the main architect of her immortal memory. He ensured that, in addition to the celestial glory, she could have eternal fame on earth with her works, 'divine monuments' providing significant benefits for the future generations of intellectuals.¹³⁴ But he also wanted to turn her into a new female model for European culture, an exemplary woman for independence in all her choices, for culture and firmness in faith, reachable through education. Therefore, according to this reading, she was not a Protestant martyr, but a woman who led an edifying and exceptional life.¹³⁵

Her project, both the pedagogical agenda and her religious militancy, became found expression in the publication of the *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae Foeminae doctissimae ac plane divinae Opera omnia*. It was a cultural and religious manifesto.¹³⁶ The first edition, released in 1558 by the Basel publisher Pietro Perna, was followed by three other more complete editions (1562, 1560, 1570, the last republished in 1580). The first edition was notably dedicated to another woman and exile *religionis causa* in Germany, the Marquise of

¹³² Morata, *The Complete Writings* 215–216.

¹³³ Morata, *The Complete Writings* 196–198: Grunthler to Curione, Heidelberg, 22 November 1555.

¹³⁴ Morata, *The Complete Writings* 199–201: Curione to Lucretia Morata, [Basel], 1 January 1556.

¹³⁵ Peyronel, "Olimpia Morata" 94, 128–133; Daenens, "Olimpia Morata" 103–104. Also Théodore de Bèze, *Vrais portraits des hommes illustres en piété et doctrine* (Genève, Jean de Laon: 1581).

¹³⁶ Danaens, "Olimpia Morata" 104.

Vasto, wife of the governor of Piacenza, Isabella Bresegna, immortalized by Bernardino Ochino as a model of militant faith, regardless of the honours and the wealth of the family, in the *Disputa intorno alla presenza del corpo di Cristo nel Sacramento della Cena*. In the following editions, Queen Elisabeth was the dedicatee of the work, for her exemplary defence of the cause of the Gospel, of peace, of the exiles and because she was an exceptional woman for her commitment in traditionally male fields, as well as Olympia. Such female figures, which were the demonstration of the absolute equality between the sexes, were pointed out by Curione as models to be imitated for the Christians.¹³⁷

German scholars who had known and admired Morata and her circle contributed to the initiative. A debate arose on whether the greatest merit belonged to Italy, where she was born and educated, or Germany, where she had been able to apply her cultural skills and where her mortal and intellectual remains were kept.¹³⁸ A copperplate engraving produced already in 1556 was enclosed in the Curionian editions: first, in 1558, at the end of Morata's works (on p. 110), in the later editions its position was among the preliminary pieces introducing the work. The ornamental work framed a dedicatory note by Johannes Herold on the poet's death. Herold celebrated the superiority of the intellect in a woman's body and the complete dedication to faith, having contempt for the world ('forma quondam mulieri ingenio homine maiori, animo quo solo Christum caperet, sperneret mundum totum'). The engraving showed on the right hand the image of the sorrowful Italy dressed as a court woman with the cartouche 'Spoliata ingemisco (*Plundered I sigh*)', on the left, Germany in triumph, with a collar in the shape of a lion and the inscription 'Ornata insurgo (*Decorated I rise*)'. Above the figures, Christ welcomed Olympia with the words 'Veni sponsa mea (*Come my bride*)', who replied 'Hic requies mea (*Here is my peace*)'. Below them, a glowering woman with a globe in her hands, a symbol of the despised world and the 'Spreta infrendo (*Despised I grind my teeth*)' cartouche.¹³⁹ Olympia, 'sacra vate (*sacred prophetess*)', represented a glory of Germany, the land that had received her, exile for the Gospel.

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'A House for All Sorts of People': Jacopo Strada's Contacts with Italian Heterodox Exiles

Dirk Jacob Jansen

For R.J.W. Evans



1 The Mask Slipping*

Sometime late in 1568 or early in 1569 the Mantuan nobleman Jacopo Strada (Mantua 1515–Vienna 1588), the Emperor Maximilian II's trusted architect and antiquary, sat down to pen a vehement letter to a former collaborator, who appears to have been indiscreet about his own and Strada's flight from Mantua in the late summer of 1568, when they were in danger of investigation by the newly appointed, assiduous Inquisitor in the Gonzaga Duchy, the Dominican friar Camillo Campeggi. Their flights had been dissimilar: even though Strada had intended

[...] to pay the coach and to give you money to help you on to Verona, you had already set sail, and had escaped miserably on foot from Mantua to Verona, on an empty stomach, having left the table set for dinner. Whereas my flight has been that of a gentleman, because above all I wished to assert my rank, and as a servant of the highest-ranking Prince of the world I went to speak to the Duke [Guglielmo Gonzaga], asking him to provide security for myself and for the men who worked for me; and you were the

* Abbreviations: ASFlo = Archivio di Stato, Florence; ASMn = Archivio di Stato Mantua; ÖNBW = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna; BayHStA = Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich; KUÄA = Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv; BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich; DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (until now 89 vol. [Rome: 1960–2017], also accessible online <http://www.treccani.it/>).

first I had put on the list, such was the affection in which I held you; only after I saw the [Duke's] excuses of lacking the authority [to protect me], I came to Venice. [...]

So if you want to start squealing, tell the whole story, and tell how Cardinal Delfino, when still a Bishop, me not wanting to lend him thousand ducats, and neither to stand security for him, has done me this office. [...]

Enough; your miserable flight has never been revealed by me, not to do you such dishonour, if at least you consider it such [...]; I don't know whether, when you speak about me, you remember yourself [i.e. 'you base yourself on your own memories'], because you left before me; but you should talk like this: first, I fled from Mantua as a Lutheran or even an atheist, on foot, and with little money [in my pocket], whereas Strada [...].¹

The letter – which Strada probably never sent – breaks off here. Strada's resentment towards his former assistant was triggered by the latter having gossiped about him and about the reasons for his sudden departure from Mantua: his being cited by the Holy Office, a fact which Strada did not consider in keeping with his standing as trusted artistic adviser of the Holy Roman Emperor. Neither does he seem to have considered the epithets 'Lutherano ovvera ateista' particularly complimentary and in any way applicable to himself.² At the time Strada had been concerned – and had succeeded – in maintaining his sangfroid as well as his *persona* of urbane and erudite courtier. But his mask slips in the caustic tone of his letter, which seems to reflect not only his indignation at his assistant's ingratitude, but also the nasty fright he had experienced himself, a fright caused by being sought after by members of the Inquisition, while visiting his native town engaged in a number of commissions for his patrons, Emperor Maximilian II and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. It seems he had been unaware of the intensification of the Holy Office's persecution of heresy stimulated by Pope Pius V (1566–1572), himself a former General Inquisitor. Strada's fright and his flight, however, show that he took the threat to his freedom, his

1 ÖNBW Ms. 9039, fol. 21r; the full Italian text given below, Appendix 2. Zaccaria Dolfin (or Delfino) had been Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court in 1554–1556 and 1561–1565, cf. below n. 29.

2 I have not yet been able to identify the intended recipient of this letter; it probably was an artist – as a pupil of Niccolò da Milano, presumably a goldsmith – who had already survived an earlier inquisition in the time of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, a fact Strada also referred to as something discreditable.

property, and perhaps his life, quite seriously, and he was right to do so. They also indicate that Strada's conscience was not quite as clean as he pretended in a later letter to Duke Guglielmo, and that some of his earlier activities and/or his publicly expressed opinions gave him reason to fear the Inquisition.³

This episode illustrates how, in the sixteenth century, and particularly after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, even people without any apparent theological interests could become directly involved in, and had to come terms with, the confessional divide which was the dominant intellectual, political and social issue of their century. Strada's case is an interesting example of the collateral victims of the confessional battle fought between Rome and the Reformation, and soon also within the Reformed Churches themselves. Neither Strada's publications, nor his public *persona* suggest that he had any profound religious convictions. If he had not been prosecuted by the Inquisition, probably no one would be particularly curious about his confessional affiliation. As it is, Howard Louthan's brief characterization in his 1997 study, *The Quest for Compromise*, provides the only treatment of Jacopo Strada's confessional position to date.⁴ Louthan developed his topic, the moderate, conciliatory approach to confessional questions of the time at the court of Emperor Maximilian II, around four key figures whom he presents as embodying what he terms the 'Irenicism' of the Emperor and his entourage. Lazarus von Schwendi, soldier and politician, Johann Crato von Krafftheim, court physician, influential intellectual, and follower of Melancthon, Hugo Blotius, Dutch Calvinist humanist and first formal *custos* of the Imperial Library, and finally the Italian court architect and antiquary Jacopo Strada each represent different aspects of a complex of ideas and opinions at the Imperial court adding up to what Louthan considers an irenic *via media*, reflecting ideals of religious compromise and moderation followed by Maximilian and, to a lesser extent, by his successor Rudolf II.

Strada's role in Louthan's study is based on the absence of any direct evidence as to Strada's confessional position: negative evidence which nevertheless has some considerable significance in the context of Maximilian's court. Strada is never mentioned in the ample literature on the diaspora of Italian evangelical or heterodox exiles – presumably because the sources studied do not include any relevant references. There are no indications that he ever seriously engaged in theological speculation or debates, and the only explicit utterance as to his faith we have, in a letter to an old friend, is his vehement denial

3 Below n. 27.

4 Louthan H., *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge: 1997).

that he had ever changed his religion.⁵ Because of its notorious ambiguity, this statement – occasionally used by Maximilian II to express his own position – does not invalidate the reasons to delve a little deeper. The most significant of these is doubtless that the Holy Office in Strada's native Mantua seriously suspected his orthodoxy, and eventually burnt him in effigy as a confirmed heretic. Secondly, Strada did in fact have direct or indirect contact with several of his heterodox compatriots, as well as with many other Protestants in Germany, in the Habsburg *Erblande* and even in France. Thirdly, his considerable wealth, his position at the Imperial court, and his international contacts in the book trade would have allowed him to assist fellow-travellers both morally and materially, should he have wished to do so. This paper presents the scanty evidence and attempts to provide its context, but avoids any final judgments as to Strada's own theological position.

2 Strada's Background

Strada's intensive contact with Protestants as such is not really surprising. Born into a patrician family of Mantua, probably in 1515, he received both a humanist education and, less usual, artistic training in the workshop of Raphael's pupil, Giulio Romano, both of which stimulated an apparently innate interest in Antiquity, which he satisfied by a prolonged sojourn in Rome and extensive travel in Italy and beyond.⁶ At some point this also included Germany, for the first concrete information we have is that by 1544 Strada was resident in Southern Germany, engaged on behalf of his first known patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, and married to Otilie Schenck von Roßberg, of ancient but impoverished feudal nobility from the immediate vicinity of Würzburg. The latter fact implies that Strada had arrived in Germany some years earlier; my hypothesis is that he came as early as 1537, in connection with the construction of the *Italianische Bau* of Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria's Stadtresidenz at Landshut, by a team of Mantuan masons and artists, after designs made or supervised by Giulio Romano himself.⁷

5 A summary of Strada's position in Louthan, *Quest for Compromise* 124–125. The present paper elaborates on the relevant paragraph in my biography of Strada: Jansen DJ., *Urbanissime Strada: Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court* (Diss. Leiden – Maastricht: 2015) 437–441.

6 For the biographical data given here, see Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* passim.

7 Except for the date of the first mention of Strada's presence in Germany, there seems to be no connection between his migration to Germany and the panic among intellectuals with

When in November 1546 the Nuremberg Council formally permitted him 'eigen rauch hie ze halten', that is, to maintain his own independent establishment, Strada probably had already been living in that city for some time. He obtained citizenship in 1549, and in order to retain this, he took care to ask the council's permission when he left for a prolonged visit to Lyon and to Rome in July 1552, and again when he was invited to Vienna by Emperor Ferdinand I in the spring of 1558. So by the time Strada was prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1567, he had been active in Germany for well over twenty-four, perhaps even thirty years, many of which he lived in Nuremberg, which had accepted the Reformation as early as 1525. Obviously, he could not have been very shocked by Protestant and other unorthodox views of Christianity. He found these after all even among the familiars of his first important patron, Hans Jakob Fugger: though sturdily and quite orthodoxly Catholic, Hans Jakob did not let confessional differences stand in the way of the development of his extraordinary library, which included books from all sides of the confessional spectrum, and which was run by the staunchly Calvinist Greek scholar Hieronymus Wolff. Neither did he limit his extensive, often quite generous patronage to intellectuals who shared his confessional views. In view of the close, apparently rather intimate relationship between Fugger and Strada, the latter would have had access to such contacts.⁸

3 Strada's Protestant Printers

Even conceding that Strada's business contacts with Protestants by themselves do not imply any mutual confessional sympathy, it is rather remarkable how often Strada had recourse to Protestant partners in his projects. When he arrived in Lyon to look for a printer for his numismatic treatise, *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum*, he opted for the Protestant Jean de Tournes, rather than for his antiquarian colleague, the staunchly Catholic Guillaume Rouillé. De Tournes was probably suggested by Sebastiano Serlio, the architectural theorist whose drawings and manuscripts Strada would acquire shortly before he left Lyon,

unorthodox opinions caused all over Italy by the defection from the Roman Church of Bernardino Ochino and Pietro Martire Vermigli in 1542.

8 Hans Jakob Fugger is one of many influential sixteenth-century intellectuals still lacking an up-to-date biography; see Hartig O., *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Munich: 1917); Maasen W., *Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–1575): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Munich – Freising: 1922); Von Busch R., *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. Tübingen: 1973).

with the intention of publishing them.⁹ Serlio's own confessional position has been questioned, on the basis of a passage in his dedication to Marguérite de Valois, Queen of Navarre, of the fifth book of his treatise. Its subject matter, significantly, is 'temples', rather than churches:

And though the true temples are the hearts of pious Christians, in which by faith inhabits JESUS CHRIST our Saviour (as we are given good testimony by that chosen vessel, Saint Paul, among all Apostles most worthy preacher of our holy religion), nevertheless the actual Temples still remain necessary for divine worship, because they have been ordained to represent the House of God [...].¹⁰

This is a sentiment which seems to refer to the Evangelical dogma of justification by faith alone, and certainly minimizes the role of institutionalized religion – both themes not gladly seen in Rome.¹¹

9 Carpo M., *La maschera e il modello: teoria architettonica ed evangelismo nell'Extraordinario libro di Sebastiano Serlio (1551)* (Milan: 1993) 61, 10–105. More in general on Serlio and his relation to Lyon printers, see Deswarte-Rosa S. (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon: Architecture et Imprimerie 1: Le Traité d'Architecture de Sebastiano Serlio: une grande entreprise éditoriale au XVI^e siècle* (Lyon: 2004).

10 'Et benchè I veri Tempij siano gli cuori de pietosi Christiani, dentro de quali habita per fede GIESV CHRISTO Salvator nostro (come ce ne da buona testimonio il vaso deletion Divo Paulo, fra tutti gli Apostoli predicatore dignissimo della nostra sacra religione) nondimeno anchora sonno i Tempij materiali necessarij al culto divino, per essere quelli ordinati in representatione della casa d'Iddio [...]' (Serlio Sebastiano, *Quinto libro d'architettura di Sabastiano Serlio bolognese, nel quale se tratta de diverse forme de tempj sacri secondo il costume Christiano, et al modo antico* [...]) [with a French translation by Jean Martin] [Paris, Michel de Vascosan: 1547] 1).

11 The connection between avant-garde, Vitruvian architecture and heterodox religious opinion is a fascinating theme, also in the context of Strada as an architect and his various patrons, but it cannot be treated here; cf. Tafuri M., *Venezia e il Rinascimento: Religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin: 1985); Idem, "Ipotesi sulla religiosità di Sebastiano Serlio", in Thoenes C. (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio* (Milan: 1989) 57–66; Carpo, *La maschera e il modello*, and now also Mattei F., *Eterodossia e vitruvianesimo: Palazzo Naselli a Ferrara 1527–1538* (Rome: 2013) and Working R.C., *The Visual Theology of the Huguenots: Towards an Architectural Iconology of Early Modern French Protestantism, 1535 to 1623* (Eugene (Or.): 2016). A topic of specific interest is the connection between Jacopo Aconcio's unorthodox ideas and the method of fortification he developed, using the same terminology in both: Gabrieli V., "Aconcio in Inghilterra (1559–1566): i baluardi di Berwick e gli 'Stratagemmi di Satana'", *La Cultura* 21 (1983) 309–340; his lost treatise on fortification has been published

Not only did Strada select a Protestant printer for his *Epitome*, he also financed the project by entering into a partnership with a young aspiring publisher, Thomas Guérin (or Guarin, Garin; Tournai 1529 – Basel 1592), likewise a Protestant who soon afterwards emigrated to Basel, where he became a prolific and wide-ranging printer whose output included many Protestant texts. Occasionally Guérin also engaged in the anonymous publication of subversive works, including François Hotman's report of the St Bartholomew's massacre, *De Furoribus Gallicis* of 1573, and the revolutionary pseudonymous tract *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* ('Edimburgi' 1579). Perhaps Guérin mediated between Strada and Hotman, who provided a commentary for Strada's edition of Caesar's complete works.¹²

At his own expense, Strada had published editions of Onufrio Panvinio's *Fasti et Triumph*i and *Epitome Pontificum*, both printed in Venice in 1587, but the printers he employed for this are not known. However, when Strada entered the service of Ferdinand I, he sold all the remaining copies at the Frankfurt book fair to a bookseller from Basel, who was to pay him in yearly instalments. This bookseller and publisher was Pietro Perna, a well-known Protestant exile from Lucca who had settled in Basel in 1543 and set up a very successful publishing firm, printing many Protestant and unorthodox treatises, including works by Juan de Valdés, Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, Marcantonio Flaminio, Pietro Martire Vermiglio, Cornelio and Girolamo Donzellini, Jacopo Aconcio, the poetess Olimpia Morata, and, posthumously, Mino Celsi's treatise espousing religious tolerance.¹³

For his edition of Sebastiano Serlio's *Settimo Libro dell'Architettura*, printed at Frankfurt in 1575, Strada again utilized the presses of a Protestant printer, the Parisian André Wechel, who shortly before had escaped being murdered in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre – thanks to the presence of mind of Hubert Languet, who was staying in his house at the time – and had consequently

and analyzed by Giacomoni P. (ed.), *Jacopo Aconcio: Trattato sulle fortificazioni* (Firenze: 2011).

12 Below, note 47. On Guérin, see Bietenholz P.G., *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: 1971) 76–77 and passim. On the unlikely attribution of the *Vindiciae* to Hubert Languet, see the appendix to Nicollier-De Weck B., *Hubert Languet (1518–1581): un réseau politique international, de Melanchthon à Guillaume d'Orange* (Geneva: 1995) 465–487, and the current attribution to Philippe Duplessis-Mornay by Daussy H., *Les huguenots et le roi: le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572–1600)* (Geneva: 2002).

13 Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Roma: 2002); Cavarzere M., "Pietro Perna", *DBI* 82 (2015) 401–406.

moved his presses to Frankfurt.¹⁴ Possibly Languet, a professional intermediary, who had stayed at the Imperial Court for several years, was the go-between between Strada and Wechel: in 1576 he described himself as an old acquaintance, and was perhaps a friend of Strada's, whom he recommended to his patron, Elector August of Saxony, and visited repeatedly in his Vienna house.¹⁵ For his edition of the complete works of Caesar, published at his own expense in the same year, Strada employed the firm ('Companeï') of Sigmund Feyerabend and Georg Rab (Corvinus), both Protestants as well.¹⁶ The Frankfurt connection may have been strengthened by the presence of Paolino and Francesco Nieri or Neri, merchants from Lucca, who appear to have been Strada's bankers and/or business associates.¹⁷

4 Persecution in Mantua

By itself, doing business with Protestants is not an indication of Evangelical or Reformed sympathies. But Strada must have had his reasons to print these books in Frankfurt rather than in Venice, given the difficulties of printing a book in Italian in Germany. These were pointed out by Strada's son Ottavio, who oversaw the printing.¹⁸ The commercial importance of the Frankfurt Book Fair certainly was an important reason – Strada in fact had a permanent 'Gewölb' – a vault or storehouse – in Frankfurt at his disposal. But one suspects that, having failed to obtain free-conducts from the Doge and from the Duke of

14 Evans R.J.W., "The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627", *Past and Present* Supplement 2 (Oxford: 1975).

15 Hubert Languet to Elector August of Saxony, Vienna 7 September 1576, published in Lietzmann H., "Der kaiserliche Antiquar Jacopo Strada und Kurfürst August von Sachsen", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60 (1997) 377–399, document 4; on Languet, see Nicollier-De Weck, *Hubert Languet*.

16 On Feyerabend and Corvinus and their company, see Klöss E., "Der Frankfurter Drucker-Verleger Weigand Han und seine Erben (1555 bis 1581)", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1960) 309–374; Bauer T., "Feyerabend, Sigmund", in: *Frankfurter Personenlexikon* (Onlineausgabe): <http://frankfurter-personenlexikon.de/node/2172>.

17 I have not been able to find anything concrete about this branch of the Nieri; like many of the expatriate Lucchese merchants elsewhere in Europe, they may well have been Protestants themselves.

18 Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada, Nuremberg 5 December 1574; excerpts below, Appendix 3; translation below, note 37.

Mantua, his fear of arrest by the Holy Office may also have played a role.¹⁹ In this he may have been wise, since the material documented in Sergio Pagano's study of the persecution of heretics in the Mantovano, initiated in 1567 by the Dominican friar Camillo Campeggi, shows that Strada, as a Mantuan emigrant to Protestant Germany, was targeted almost from the beginning.²⁰ The inquisitors appear to have been informed of Strada's planned visit to Venice and Mantua to buy antiquities and works of art for Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria. They probably knew that Strada had succeeded in obtaining a benefice in Mantua Cathedral for his eldest son Paolo, an ambition in which he had been supported by a long *manu proprio* of the Emperor to Duke Guglielmo, presented by a special messenger together with an explicit commentary by Maximilian's Chancellor, Wratislav z Pernštejn. With such a recommendation, it is perhaps not surprising that the Duke put pressure on the Chapter, which duly conceded a chaplaincy in the Duomo, and elected Paolo to the Chapter when a vacancy occurred a year later.²¹

Unfortunately, it so happened that, in the summer of 1568, when Strada had come to Mantua to take possession of the benefice conceded to his son, he was caught up in the clamorous persecution launched by Campeggi. This involved many high officials of the Gonzaga administration, including the humanist Endimio Calandra, Duke Guglielmo's secretary, the Duke's *Prefetto delle Fabbriche*, Giovanni Battista Bertani, as well as Pompeo Pedemonte, another of the Duke's architects; the goldsmith Ettore Donati, and the engraver Giovan Battista Scultori. At the time Strada was employing both Bertani and

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- 19 Jacopo Strada to Emperor Maximilian II., request handed in in person, before 29 January 1568, Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Habsburg-Lothringisches Hausarchiv, Familienakten, Kart. 97, fol. 104–106.
 - 20 Pagano S., *Il processo di Endimio Calandra e l'Inquisizione a Mantova nel 1567–1568* (Città del Vaticano: 1991) 197 with note 13, 199–200 with notes 22–23; Berzaghi A., 'Per ben adempiere al proprio dovere': *La Sede mantovana del Sant'Uffizio tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Diss. Verona University: 2010). On the Italian Inquisition in general, see Prosperi A., *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: 1996/2009); Black C.F., *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: 2009).
 - 21 Though the Chapter demurred that Paolo was too young according to the recently promulgated decrees of the Council of Trent, and his father had been suspected of heresy: minutes of the Chapter of Mantua Cathedral, Mantua, 5 December 1568, Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Archivio del Capitolo della Cattedrale, Serie registri di Massaria, reg. anno 1568, pp. 5–6; Strada's letter of thanks to Duke Guglielmo, Vienna 28 December 1568, ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga*, busta 450, published in Venturini E., *Le collezioni Gonzaga: Il Carteggio tra la Corte Cesarea e Mantova (1559–1636)* (Cinisello Balsamo – Mantua: 2002) nr. 46, 195–197.

Scultori in his projects.²² The persecution also involved some members of cadet branches of the Gonzaga dynasty with whom Strada appears to have been personally acquainted. When in June 1567 Lucrezia Manfrona Gonzaga di Gazzuolo, member of the branch of Sabbioneta, Vittoria Gonzaga Martinengo, consort of Cesare Gonzaga of the line of Novellara and Bagnolo, and Isabella Mainoldi Gonzaga decided to privately abjure, they chose as witnesses one Carlo Luzzara and one 'Dottor Strada'. This appears to have been Jacopo, who had just arrived for a stay of a few weeks, in connection with the acquisition of works of art and the documentation of the most important architecture and decoration in Mantua on behalf of his patron, Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria. He was also busy with projects on his own account, including his petition to the Duke about his son's benefice.²³

This activity doubtless drew the new Inquisitor's attention to Strada. By the time of his visit in 1568, he was explicitly targeted, as appears from the correspondence between Campeggi and his Roman superior, Cardinal Scipione Rebiba. On 18 June 1568, Campeggi wrote that he planned to employ spies to find out where Strada might be, and relates that he had found witnesses, 'Thomas et Rubertus Ausserstulfer', two brothers from Tirol, who after their interrogation by the Inquisition were found prepared to testify against Strada.²⁴ A week later Campeggi sent Rebiba a copy of a description of Strada's appearance he had had circulated:

22 Pagano, *Endimio Calandra*, passim; Bertani and Scultori were employed in Strada's projects to document Mantuan architecture and decoration, in particular Giulio Romano's work at the Palazzo del Te and sections of the Palazzo Ducale, and to acquire antiquities and contemporary works of art, partly on commission of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, partly on his own account; cf. Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 548–552.

23 Pagano, *Endimio Calandra* 7, 16 (n. 32). Strada was in contact with members of several cadet branches of the Gonzaga: Francesco Gonzaga da Novellara had visited his house in Vienna on 26 August 1565, accompanying Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara (Venturini, *Le collezioni Gonzaga*, nr. 29, 189–190; nr. 46, 195–196) and was instrumental in having the Cathedral chapter concede the benefice to Paolo Strada; when in Mantua, Strada was documenting and having casts made of parts of the famous collection of antiquities of Cesare Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla and prince of Molfetta, at the time still kept in his palace in Mantua (Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 469; 480). It seems unlikely, though, that Strada would have discussed any heterodox opinions with Cesare Gonzaga, who was the brother-in-law of Carlo Borromeo.

24 Pagano, *Endimio Calandra* 197, n. 13, 200, n. 23. 'Rubertus Ausserstulfer' is doubtless identical with the 'Goldschläger' or manufacturer of gold leaf Ruprecht or Rupert Ausserstorfer resident in Mantua, who in the 1570s also acted as an agent for the Bavarian court, acquiring jewelry in Italy; cf. Stockbauer J., *Die Kunstbestrebungen am Bayerischen Hofe unter Herzog Albrecht V. und seinem Nachfolger Wilhelm V.* (Wien: 1874) 101, 108, 109.

I send the description which I have been able to get of that Giacobbo Strada Antiquary to the Emperor, so that we can arrange to have him in our hands.

Monsignor Pagano characterizes this detailed description as a veritable 'identikit':

[Jacopo Strada is an] antiquary from Mantua: he has red hair that tends towards the black or rather the dark [brown?]; his beard is beginning to get grey hairs; he will be about fifty years of age, is of middle height, and is well-to-do. He lives in Vienna, and has a German wife.²⁵

This description is of great interest, because exactly at this time Strada was sitting for his famous portrait by Titian, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Comparing Strada's beard as shown in the portrait with the description, it seems to correspond exactly. In the painting Strada's hair is indeed of a dark shade of red [Fig. 7.1]; and though the present author had never noticed the grey hairs until finding Monsignor Pagano's reference to the document, they are unmistakably there [Fig. 7.2].

That Strada turned up in Mantua, his native town, where he was well-known, made it easier for Campeggi. When Strada heard that, while out of the house, he had been sought out by Dominican friars acting for the Holy Office, he appealed to the Duke of Mantua for protection, making a big deal of his status as a servant of 'il primo signore del mondo', the Emperor. When Guglielmo would not or dared not extend the desired guarantee, Strada escaped to Verona, in

25 Pagano, *Endimio Calandra*, cites various documents preserved in the Archivio del Sant'Offizio, Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano: p. 197, n. 15, Camillo Campeggi to Scipione Rebiba, Mantua 18 June 1568: 'Mandarò li contrassegni di Giacobbo Strada e vi porrò anche delle spie dietro per saper ove sarà'; ibidem, p. 199, n. 22, Campeggi to Rebiba, Mantua 25 June 1568: 'Mando la descrittione che ho potuta havere di quel Giacobbo Strada antiquario dell'Imperatore, accioché si possi procurar di haverlo nelle mani'; the attached 'identikit' describes Strada as 'mantovano antiquario; è di pelo rosso che tiro al nero overo al scuro, comincia a far la barba canuta, può havere cinquanta anni, di statura mezzana, et è prosperoso. Habita in Vienna et ha una moglie alemana; era questa Assensa passata in Venetia et alloggiava a mezzo la marzaria in casa di uno che dà il lustro alli specchi, apresso di una chiesiola qual credo si dimandi San Giuliano. Egli in Venetia facea lavorare delle teste di marmore per lo imperatore, e forse vi sarà anchora al presente'. Pagano reads 'Assensa' as the name of Strada's wife, which is obviously mistaken; I take it to refer to the feast of the Ascension at which time Strada had been spotted in Venice.



FIGURE 7.1 Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada* (1567–1568). Oil on canvas, 126 cm × 95,5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



FIGURE 7.2 *Detail of 7.1: Strada's face and beard.*

Venetian territory, where the Inquisition was less powerful. Strada's own account of his escape is transcribed in the appendix.²⁶ Sometime later, again with Maximilian's support, Strada requested a more permanent safe-conduct

26 Strada's undated draft for a letter to an unnamed collaborator (cited above, note 1, and fully transcribed below, Appendix 2. Cf. Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice, 5 October 1567: 'essendo esso Strada p[ar]tito per Verona, per paura della Inquisitione, che li frati di San Domenico l'havevano cercato una volta ò 2 in casa sua, et andando lui dal Duca a dolersene, il Duca li rispose che con loro non se n'impacciarò, se bene era huomo dell'Imperatore, che 'l guardasse lui il fatto suo, dovendo lui medes<imo> saper meglio come stava che nessun altro; per il che se ne andò subito via per Verona, lassando il suo putto [= Jacopo's son, Ottavio Strada] in Mantua [...] et non fidandosi ne anche ivi [= Verona] venne poi a Ven[eti]a, ove per rispetto de l'Imperatore non li haveriano lasciato dare molestia; benchè non ho inteso che'l sia contrario alle cose Romane, se non che'l è molto libero di ragionare, et intrando in colera non ha rispetto alcuno sia di chi essere si voglia [...]') (BayHStA, KUÄA 4852, fol. 169–70).

from Duke Guglielmo, but if he did obtain this, he did not trust its power sufficiently to make use of it, and he seems never to have returned to his native city.²⁷

Having let him slip through their hands, the Holy Office appears not to have bothered too much about Strada. It took them more than a decade to actually institute further proceedings against him, even though after the death of Emperor Maximilian II, Strada's protector, in September 1576, his successor Rudolf II withdrew his support for Strada in this matter, and Duke Guglielmo had less reason to interfere. Only in 1581 were the cases of the Stradas – both Jacopo's and his son Paolo's, as (non-resident) canon of Mantua Cathedral – taken up again. Not having responded to the posters attached to the gates and public places of Mantua (which they probably did not even know about: Strada had not resided in Mantua for over forty years, and his last visit had been in 1568; Paolo probably never set foot in Mantua after his early childhood), they were both condemned for 'heresy', 'disobedience', 'rebellion' and 'contumacy', wilful disregard of the tribunal's summons. The actual grounds for the original suspicions are not mentioned in the sentences. On 26 July a splendid *auto da fé* was organized in which Strada, his son and a third heretic were burnt in effigy, 'in the form of a peacock', in front of Mantua cathedral.²⁸ But it remains a

27 Guglielmo Malaspina, Mantuan envoy at the Imperial court, wrote to Pier Martire Cornacchia, Vienna, 1 October 1568, about Maximilian II having asked him to write to Duke Guglielmo asking on behalf of Strada for a 'salvocondutto perpetuo per esso et per sua molie et figlioli, et perchè ancho gli par oppera pia di far ch'el detto messer Giacomo Strada possi habitare alle volte con sua familia nella patria ove egli è nato, et maxime tenendolo per un di suoi cari servitori.' (ASMn, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 450, cited and partially quoted in Pagano, *Processo di Endimio Calandra* 199, n. 22). The phrasing of Strada's letter of 11 October thanking the Duke for his decision is ambiguous, and does not make quite clear whether the request had actually been accorded: 'Dal Signor Imbassador di Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima ò inteso la risposta che à dato Vostra Eccellenza del mio salvo condotto chiesto da Sua Maestà, mio Signore, a quella; del che io ne rimango benissimo sodisfatto, si per non haver io di presente da negotiar costà, come anche di non voler L'Eccellenza Vostra importunare, e tanto più in questi tempi di questo Pont[efice], il quale non à rispetto a niun Principe dove si puole attaccare (quantunque dal canto mio la mia consienza sia netta). E questo favore lo serbaro a miglior tempo a commodità di Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima, perchè dal canto mio, essendogli Suo vasallo, non posso dessiderar se non cosa che li agradi e torni a utile; suplicandoLa si degni a comandarmi e servirsi di me dove vaglio e posso.' (ibidem, not quoted by Pagano).

28 Alessandro Rosa to Duke Guglielmo, 26 July 1581: 'Questa mattina secondo l'ordine di V.A., a S. Inquisizione diede esecutione alle sentenze contro messer Giacomo e don Paolo, padre e figlio della Strada, et don Valeriano di Cremona dell'ordine di S. Vito, come eretici condannati, le persone dei quali in tre pavoni sono stati pubblicamente coi libri

moot point whether Duke Guglielmo would have allowed the two Stradas to be burnt in the flesh, had they been so careless as to let themselves be caught. In the 1570s Strada had remained in contact with the Duke, who had assisted him in some of his projects; and Strada had had plenty of opportunities to liquidate any property he still may have had in Mantua long before the fateful event – which he may not even have known about at the time.

Strada himself attributed his persecution to the ill-will of the Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court, Zaccaria Dolfin, whom he had once refused a substantial loan.²⁹ That the Nuncio at the Imperial court would report to Rome about Italian nationals of doubtful orthodoxy is borne out by the list sent in 1569 by Dolfin's successor, Melchiorre Biglia.³⁰ This list has not been preserved, so we

di don Valeriano abbruciati ...', as quoted in Davari S., *Cenni storici intorno al tribunale della Inquisizione di Mantova* (Milan: 1879, reprint Mantua: 1973) 68–69; Pagano, *Endimio Calandra* does not refer to this *auto da fé*, from long after the period covered by his study, and does not cite any process or provide any concrete evidence held by the Holy Office; Berzaghi, *La sede Mantovana del Sant'Uffizio* 22–23, notes 15–16. The sentences are among the Inquisition documents preserved in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, Ms. 1225, fol. 135r–v (Jacopo, text in Latin) and Ms. 1226, fol. 164r–165v (Paolo, text in Italian). I have used the microfilm, *The Collection of Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts at Trinity College Dublin*, Section 1: *The Roman Inquisition*, World Microfilms Publications, London 1985, reels 8 and 9, which were kindly made available from Heidelberg University Library. In a letter dated Linz, 16 July 1578, Giorgio Carretto reports to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua that Emperor Rudolf II does not care if 'Giacomo Strada' were to be deprived of 'that chaplaincy' (in Mantua Cathedral, it was in fact held by his son Paolo), 'perch' non lo tiene per buon cristiano, anzi per heretico' (ASMn, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 459, f. II, cc. 135–136; Venturini, *Le collezioni Gonzaga* 254, nr. 183). Paolo's sentence, in Italian, to be read publicly, is much longer than his father's in Latin, though no more substantial; perhaps the wish to repossess his benefice was one of the reasons for the action, but a year later the vacancy had not yet been filled (Berzaghi, *La sede Mantovana del Sant'Uffizio* 23, n. 15).

29 Draft of Strada's letter to his compatriot, cited above, note 1; excerpts below, Appendix 1; on Zaccaria Dolfin, see Benzoni G., DBI 40 (1991) 576–588; "Einleitung, 1: Überlieferung der Akten", and 11: "Nuntius Delfino und Kaiser Maximilian II.", in Steinherz S., *Nuntiaturreich aus Deutschland 1560–1572*, 4 (1914) IX–XXVIII–CXXV; "Cardinal Zaccaria Delfino und sein Verhältnis zu Papst und Kaiser (1566–1567) (Kommentar zu Nr. 17)", in Dengel I., *Nuntiaturreich 1560–1572* 6 (1939) 390–405. His financial troubles are often referred to, for instance in a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay, to Philip II, who noted that Delfin had so indebted himself that he would find it difficult to depart from Vienna, once his mission at court would be over: 'y aun con todo esto debe tanto, que se huviesee de salir de aqui, no lo podria hacer sin gran trabajo' (Steinherz, *Nuntiaturreich 1560–1572* 4, nr. 109, 406).

30 Melchiorre Biglia to Cardinal Alessandrino, Vienna 20 December 1569, printed in: Dengel, *Nuntiaturreich 1560–1572*, 6: *Nuntius Biglia: 1566 (Juni)–1569 (Dezember)*; *Commendone als Legat bei Kaiser Maximilian II., 1568 (Oktober)–1569 (Jänner)* (Vienna: 1939) nr. 114.

do not know whether Strada was on it, and it is not clear in how far Strada's persecution was justified by actual evidence in the hands of the Holy Office. As we have seen, Campeggi had found two suspected heretics, the brothers Thomas and Rubertus Ausserstulfer, who had confessed and collaborated with the Inquisition and were prepared to testify against Strada. The documents cited by Mgr. Pagano, however, do not mention any concrete suspicion.³¹ Strada appears not to have hidden his opinions to his contemporaries, so it may merely be an accident that we are not better informed about them: already in October 1567 Niccolò Stopio – himself a suspect, as told in an anonymous report to Philip II – had responded to a query from Hans Jakob Fugger about Strada's trouble with the Inquisition:

[...] though I have never heard from his talking that he is against Rome, except that he is very free in his reasoning, and once he gets angry he respects no one, whomsoever it may be.³²

Strada's 'free' verbal criticism probably included the Pope himself, Pius v. He did not hesitate to write this down in a letter to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua.³³ All the same it seems more likely that the Inquisition based its case mostly on Strada's presence at the court of Maximilian II, whose own orthodoxy was suspect and who had been obliged to make many concessions to the Protestant nobility of his dominions. In fact, it is not impossible that the assiduity which the Holy Office displayed in Strada's case – setting spies after him, searching for witnesses even across the borders, and circulating a description or 'identikit' which corresponds perfectly to Titian's famous portrait, for which Strada was sitting at the time – may have been motivated by a wish to indirectly attack the Emperor himself, by incriminating one of his valued and high-ranking servants.³⁴

31 Pagano, *Endimio Calandra* 200, n. 23.

32 Niccolò Stopio to Hans Jakob Fugger, Venice (as in note 26); on his supposed heterodoxy, see the report preserved at Simancas (Archivo General, *Papeles de Estado*, Venecia, *legajo* 1548, nr. 52, fol. 248).

33 Letter of 11 October 1568 (quoted above, note 27): Strada tells the Duke that he will not for the moment make use of a safe-conduct to come to Mantua, 'both because I have at present no business to negotiate down there, and so as not to give trouble to your Excellency, the more so in the time of this Pope, who has no respect for any prince whatsoever, whenever he can attack him (even though on my part my conscience is clean)'.

34 The persecution in Mantua likewise seems to have had as a secondary aim to take Duke Guglielmo down a peg or two, witness the targeting of some of his most important officials: obviously the Duke had demonstrated too inconvenient an independence of spirit.

5 **Girolamo Donzellini**

Incriminating Strada was not very difficult, because contact with other heretics was by itself sufficient to be deemed highly suspect – if not outright guilty by association. And it is quite clear that Strada had many dealings with Protestants, such as his printers, and that he also maintained contacts with Catholics whose orthodoxy was suspect. One example was Girolamo Donzellini, a humanist and physician who had to flee from Venice after a former associate had betrayed him, and Lutheran books and compromising correspondence had been found in his house. During three years of peregrinations, he met several other Italian exiles, such as Pier Paolo Vergerio and Pietro Perna, but also tried to find influential support in his attempt to return home without peril.³⁵ In this Strada, whom Donzellini may have met in Nuremberg or in Vienna, appears to have played some role, by passing on an oration, which Donzellini had written in his own defence, to Antun Vrančić, Bishop of Eger, who had just returned from his Embassy to the Sultan on behalf of Ferdinand I. Vrančić replied to Strada with a long courteous letter commiserating with Donzellini, and appears to have in fact recommended Donzellini's case to the Emperor.³⁶ Thanks to Ferdinand's intercession with the Venetian Senate, Donzellini was allowed to return home and, after due penance, was allowed to take his profession as a physician up again. His abjuration appears not to have been sincere, since he remained in contact with his heterodox associates across the Alps, and finally was prosecuted again, and ended up being drowned in the Laguna – the Venetian equivalent of being burnt at the stake – in 1587.

6 **Mino Celsi and the Marquis of Oria**

At least on two other occasions Strada entered into a similar relationship with compatriots who had fled Italy for confessional reasons, and whom Strada may

35 On Donzellini, see Jacobson Schutte A., "Donzellini (Donzellino, Donzellinus), Girolamo", *DBI* 41 (1992) 238–243.

36 Antun Vrančić to Jacopo Strada, 4 December 1558, printed in, *Verancsics Antal M. kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek Összes munkái* 7: *Vegyes levelek 1549–1559*, ed. S. László [= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores* 10] (Pest: 1865) 276–287; Girolamo Donzellini to Antun Vrančić, 15 June 1559, printed ibidem 8: *Vegyes levelek 1559–1562* [= *Mon. Hung. Hist., Scriptores* 19] (Pest: 1868) 34–40. On Vrančić (Antonius Verantius, Antal Verancsics), see Stoy M. "Verancsics (Antun)", in: *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas* 4 (Munich: 1981) 442–444.

have assisted in kind, by his hospitality, by providing local information and by allowing them to profit from his own network. In these two cases, he also employed them in one of his projects: an edition of the as yet unpublished books of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise. A letter to Strada from his younger son Ottavio, who was in Frankfurt overseeing the printing of Serlio's *Seventh book*, informs us that Serlio's original Italian text had been edited for the press by the Sienese patrician and diplomat Mino Celsi, a well-known man of letters who had been an active member of the *Accademia degli Intronati*.³⁷ Through the *Intronati* he may have been in contact with suspected heretics such as Aonio Paleario and Fausto and Camillo Sozzini, but it was only after his flight in 1569 that he actually started writing down his religious opinions, providing prefaces for books published by Pietro Perna, for whom he appears to have worked on an irregular basis, and fashioning his voluminous treatise on confessional toleration, *De haereticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat*, which Perna posthumously printed in 1577 under the fictive imprint 'Christlingae'.³⁸

37 Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada, Nuremberg, 5 December 1574; excerpts below, appendix 3): 'I find one (of yours) of 13 November which is very welcome, and understand all you write to me; that the Italian would be so faulty, you should know that I have written it [= the copy for the printer] carefully just as Minos [*sic*] Celsi had corrected it [= Serlio's original text]; and the Doctor from Mantua corrected it [i.e. Ottavio's copy], so that there is nothing more I can do. He [= Wechel] prints from the copy, and I have told him to keep my copies, so that one day I can compare them [with the print]. I know he is very diligent in printing, the most diligent in Frankfurt. I know I copied them just as the copy of the old man [= Serlio]; and thank God that Wechel agreed to print the book, because there is no one that would have been able to print Italian except him, because in the whole of Frankfurt there is no other Italian, only that Doctor from Mantua, and I had to beg him on my knees to agree to correct my copies, and according to his corrections I have them printed. It is already quite something that in Germany, where there are no Italians, one prints Italian; if Wechel had not accepted to print it, we would not have found the possibility here, and certainly we lose so much time in wanting to print Italian in Germany, where you don't find the right people [for that]. You would not believe how few learned men there are in Frankfurt. [...] As to Minos Celsi, I have not yet heard from him. Yesterday I had a letter from the Marquis of Oria, and you see what he writes to me. And I hope in the New Year to leave here, and I will write him to ask whether he wants to translate the *Castrametatione*. Your letter to him I have immediately forwarded to Basel. I don't think it will be possible to have it printed for the next Fair, and neither the *Commentaria Caesaris*, because I don't yet have the images, and it takes time to have them drawn and engraved. I would first want to see that of Palladio [i.e. Palladio's illustrated edition of Caesar, Venice 1575], which I think will be in a different manner from ours.'

38 On Celsi, see Bietenholz P.G., "Mino Celsi von Siena: ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Beurteilung von Nikodemismus und Glaubensexil im 16. Jahrhundert", *Basler Zeitschrift*

From Ottavio's letter to his father it appears that the Latin translation of Serlio's *Seventh book* may have been due to an even more illustrious fugitive, Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis of Oria; at least that seems to be implied by Strada's intention to ask him to provide the Latin translation of the text of Serlio's *Castrametatio*. This was an illustrated interpretation of Polybius' description of the fortified camp of the Roman army, which is sometimes presented as the 'Eighth Book' of the treatise.³⁹ Bonifacio had abandoned his marquisate in Apulia because of the Evangelical convictions he had developed in Naples in the circle of Juan Valdès. Finding no rest anywhere, he travelled incessantly through large part of Western and Central Europe, always accompanied by his considerable library, packed in five huge casks.⁴⁰

Strada could not have been unaware of the religious sympathies of these two occasional collaborators, but these need not have been the reason why he helped and employed them. Both were highly educated compatriots, whose high rank may have been obscured by their fugitive status, but which Strada, an Italian nobleman himself, would have recognized and respected. Both were expert philologists, Celsi in Italian, Bonifacio in Latin. Both of them, moreover, had some practical experience in architecture. Celsi had been the patron of the modest Palazzo Celsi in Siena, designed by Baldassare Peruzzi, and of the elegant circular chapel which Peruzzi built for him in the 1530s at the Castello di Celsa in Sovicille [Fig. 7.3], of interest because this to some extent prefigures the centralized 'temples' in Serlio's treatise.⁴¹ Bonifacio likewise had rebuilt his principal residence, the castle at Francavilla Fontana, in an up to date Vitruvian manner. They were both, therefore, particularly suitable for the job which Strada had in mind for them.

für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 71 (1971) 97–119; Idem, "Mino Celsi and the Toleration Controversy of the Sixteenth Century", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34 (1972) 31–7; Idem, "Celsi, Mino Gregorio Romolo", *DBI* 23 (1979) 478–482.

39 This request suggests that Bonifacio, who appears to have been in communication with both Jacopo and Ottavio Strada, also may have been responsible for the Latin translation of Serlio's *Seventh Book*, the printing of which Ottavio was overseeing; it would come out in 1575.

40 On Bonifacio, see Caccamo D., "Bonifacio, Giovanni Bernardino", *DBI* 12 (1970) 197–201; Welti M.E., *Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese d'Oria in Exil 1557–1597: Eine Biographie und ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Philippismus* (Geneva: 1976); Idem, *Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese d'Oria* (Geneva: 1983); Idem, *Die Bibliothek des Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese d'Oria, 1517–1597: Der Grundstock der Bibliothek Danzig der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Bern – Frankfurt a.M. – New York: 1985). None of these refer to Strada or to Serlio's treatise (though Bonifacio did own an edition of Vitruvius).

41 In particular the simple one on an oval plan: Serlio, *Quinto libro d'architettura* 1547, fol. 7r–8v. Serlio had been Peruzzi's and pupil – Celsi may even have known him personally.



FIGURE 7.3 *Baldassare Peruzzi, Circular chapel at the Castello di Celsa, built for Mino Celsi, ca 1536. Sovicille, Tuscany.*

IMAGE COURTESY CASTELLO DI CELSA.

7 Ludovico Castelvetro

Apart from Bonifacio and Celsi, Strada appears to have had some dealings with a third aristocratic Italian philologist turning up in Vienna, Ludovico Castelvetro, who had fled Italy in the spring of 1561, being accused not only of heresy – having translated works of Melanchthon into Italian – but also of being involved in the mysterious assassination of his literary enemy, Alberico Longo.⁴² In view of their shared nationality and interests, as well as Strada's position at court, it would have been natural for Castelvetro to have wished to make Strada's acquaintance when he visited Vienna in 1569. Strada himself would be eager to meet a man of letters as erudite, as well connected, and as famous as Castelvetro. But there is some indication that their contact went

42 On Castelvetro, see Marchetti V. – Patrizi G., "Castelvetro, Ludovico" 22 (1979) 8–21.

a little further, and that Strada may have been instrumental in the publication of Castelvetro's Italian translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*. This book, *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et sposta*, was printed in 1570 with the support of Emperor Maximilian II, to whom it was dedicated, by the Viennese printer Gaspar Stainhofer.⁴³ Possibly Maximilian asked Strada to assist Castelvetro in this matter, as a compatriot and an insider of the book trade; and Strada may have been eager to help Castelvetro print what he realized was going to be a bestseller in any case.

Frightened by his own brush with the Holy Office, though, Strada may not have wished his name to appear in the matter. But that he was involved, probably by mediating between author and printer and providing capital investment, is strongly suggested by the fact that the book was actually sold in his house. This appears from the correspondence of the Paduan humanist Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and his friend and assistant, the Flemish humanist Nicasius Ellebodus, canon of Estzergom Cathedral, whom he asked to procure several copies of the book for himself and for another friend, 'il gentilissimo Monsignor del Bene'.⁴⁴ Pinelli had told Ellebodus that the book could be had at Strada's house, and thus must at least have heard of Strada's activities. Perhaps his source was Ellebodus himself, who elsewhere mentioned Strada as a friend. Ellebodus in turn asked Hugo Blotius, who had just arrived in Vienna, to pick up the books and explained where to find Strada's 'aedes'.⁴⁵

43 Castelvetro Ludovico, *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata, et sposta* (Vienna, Gaspar Stainhofer: 1570). It was soon reprinted, by Pietro Perna (Basel: 1576).

44 'Monsignor del Bene' is probably to be identified with the poet Bartolommeo del Bene, abbot of Belleville (Rhône), rather than his brother Alfonso, abbot of Hautecombe in Savoy.

45 Pinelli had at first written to Janus Sambucus to go and buy two copies of the book, which Ellebodus could pick up when he arrived in Vienna. Ellebodus first visited Strada, whom he elsewhere calls his friend, and found him ill. When it turned out that Sambucus had not yet picked up the books, Ellebodus bought the two copies for Pinelli and one for himself from Strada directly. A few months later Pinelli asked Ellebodus to get another copy for a friend. By now back in Pressburg, Ellebodus wrote to the young Hugo Blotius, who had just arrived in Vienna, asking him to do so, and telling him that either Sambucus or (the sculptor Mathias) Manmacher could tell him where to find Strada's house ('aedes'), and asking him to greet him in his name; cf. Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 434 and n. 914; on Pinelli, see Callegari M., "Pinelli, Gian Vincenzo", *DBI* 83 (2015) 405–407; on the sympathetic Ellebodus (also: Ellebaudt, Van Ellebode), see Sivirsky A.L.I.: "Ellebodus, (H)elbaul(l)t, Nicasius, humanist", *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 7 (1977), 206–208; Almási G., *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589) and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 72–73; 202 and *passim*.

8 François Hotman

None of the instances of Strada's contact with Protestants mentioned above have anything to do with theological disputations. They are all connected with Strada's ambitions in the international book trade, which have been obscured because the books he published were printed in three different countries, and by four or perhaps five different printers. For one of these editions, the first complete edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*, accompanied by a number of learned supplements, indices, inscriptions and illustrations, printed in Frankfurt in 1575, Strada appealed to another Protestant humanist, the French Calvinist lawyer and historian François Hotman.⁴⁶ Hotman provided extensive annotations to Caesar's text, for which Strada must have obtained, perhaps even commissioned the manuscript directly from the author. Possibly they had met earlier, perhaps in Lyon; certainly Hotman appreciated Strada's erudition sufficiently to copy a two-page passage on the *Ludi circensis* from the *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* in his own *Commentarius de verborum Iuris* of 1558.⁴⁷ Again, the confession of Strada's authors seems to have played no role as such, since the other supplements were all by scholars who were (more or less) orthodox Catholics: Henricus Glareanus, Fulvio Orsini and Aldo Manuzio the Younger.

9 Strada's Patrons

If Hotman was aware of Strada's work, by analogy Strada may have known him, or about him, long before he began preparing the Caesar edition. But if not, the most likely way by which he came into contact with him and with Henricus

46 *C. Julii Caesaris rerum gestarum commentarii* xiv [...] *omnia collatis antiquis manuscriptis exemplaribus* [...] cum doctiss. annotationibus Henrici Glareani, Fulvio Ursini Romani, Francisci Hotomani, I.C., Aldi Manutii, P.F.; Ex Musaeo et impensis Iacobi Stradae Mantuani, S.C.M. Antiquarij, et civis Roman (Frankfurt a.M., Jacopo Strada, printed by Georg Rab: 1575).

47 Strada Jacopo, *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* (Lyon, Jean I De Tournes: 1553) 66–68, copied in Hotman François, *Commentarius de verborum Iuris* (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopus Junior: 1558, no pagin., s.v. *Ludi Circenses*). Hotman's annotations to Caesar probably can be connected to his research for the *Francogallia*, a history of Gaul and France beginning even before Roman rule, first printed in Geneva in 1573. They were also included in an edition of *De bello Gallico* printed in Lyon by Bartholomé Vincent in 1574, but all the supplements included in Strada's edition are already described in the copyright privilege from King Charles IX of 1572, so his edition cannot be a simple copy. Probably Strada and Vincent had arranged a deal to share the market between them.

Glareanus, would have been through Richard Strein von Schwarzenau, a highly intellectual and cultured nobleman, and member of one of the wealthiest Protestant families of the Austrian *Erblande*. He had studied in Padua and Strasbourg, with Glareanus and Hotman, and had lodged with the latter for two years.⁴⁸ At a quite early age he obtained the trust of Maximilian II, who appointed him *Hofkammerpräsident*, the head of the Imperial treasury, in 1567, when he was only 29 years old. Subsequently he served as the Emperor's principal liaison with the Protestant Estates of the *Erblande* in the preparation of the religious compromise of 1568. Sharing Strada's historical and antiquarian interests, they must have known one another well, and Strein supported Strada in some of his publication projects. Moreover, the style of Strein's principal residence, the castle of Schwarzenau in Lower Austria, built *ex novo* ca 1580–1592, is so close to Strada's work that its design can be attributed to him with a considerable degree of confidence [Fig. 7.4].⁴⁹

The same is true for two projects commissioned by another high ranking noble among Maximilian's officials, Christoph von Teuffenbach, again a highly cultured Protestant, who had studied with Melanchthon, served as Imperial Ambassador to the Porte, and subsequently was a general with the Imperial armies in Hungary. There are no archival sources documenting his contacts with Strada, but there can be no doubt about their relationship, in view of the fact that he built both his house in Vienna – where he was Strada's next-door neighbour – and his castle in Drnholec / Dürnholz in Moravia inspiring himself by material from Serlio's as yet unpublished *Settimo Libro*, which Strada was preparing for the press at the time [Fig. 7.5].⁵⁰

Jan Šembera Černohosky z Boskovic, a wealthy Moravian nobleman, likewise had modelled his new castle, begun in 1566 at Bučovice / Butschowitz near Brno / Brünn, on a Serlian model, which makes it likely that Strada had

48 Cf. Hotman's dedication to Maximilian II of his *De verborum iuris* (1558), where Strein is mentioned very favourably. The copy in the ÖNBW (shelfmark 48.0.37), carries an autograph dedication to the juvenile Strein on the title page. On Strein, see Grossmann K., "Reichart Strein von Schwarzenau: Ein österreichischer Staatsmann und Gelehrter aus der Zeit der Renaissance, Reformation und Gegenreformation", *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde und Heimatschutz von Niederösterreich und Wien*, N.F. 20/2 (1927) 1–37.

49 Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 414–420.

50 Serlio Sebastiano, *Architecturae liber septimus in quo multa explicantur, quae architecto variis locis possunt occurrere ... / Il settimo libro d'architettura ... nel qual si tratta di molti accidenti che possono occorrer al'architetto in diversi luoghi* (Frankfurt, Wechel: 1575); on Strada's connection with Teuffenbach's commissions, see Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 410–414.



FIGURE 7.4 *Attributed to Jacopo Strada, Schwarzenau Castle, the principal façade. Schwarzenau, Lower Austria, ca 1580?–1592.*

IMAGE AUTHOR.

functioned as an adviser here as well. He certainly was involved, in 1583, in the splendid painted and stucco decoration of a number of rooms on the castle's ground floor [Figs. 7.6–7.8], one of which, the so-called Imperial Chamber, he almost certainly designed himself [Fig. 7.6]. The entertaining 'zaječí sál', the 'Room of the Hares' [Fig. 7.7] provides an elegant variation of the theme of the 'World in Reverse', representing contemporary scenes such as courtly banquets, hunting parties and the cruelties of war, in which hares and men have exchanged places and roles. Jan Šembera may well have been inspired by the decorations of the *Hasensaal*, the principal reception room of the Augustusburg, a splendid Renaissance hunting residence built by the Elector August of Saxony only a few years earlier. The obvious source for this theme, however, was Georg Pencz' woodcut to a poem by Hans Sachs, previously printed in 1535. Its Protestant connotations are not surprising: Jan Šembera himself was a Protestant, who sent students to study at Wittenberg at his expense. His elder brother Albrecht (+1572), and his sister Anežka and her husband Oldřich z Kounic were the protectors of the heterogeneous group of Anabaptists,

SEBASTIANI
SERLII BONONIENSIS
ARCHITECTURAE LIBER SE-
PTIMVS. IN QVO MVLTAE EX-
PLICANTVR, QVÆ ARCHITECTO VARIIS

locis possunt occurrere, tum ob inusitatam situs rationem, tum si quan-
do instaurare, siue restituere aedes, aut aliquid pridem factum in
opus adhibere, aut cætera huiusmodi facere necesse
fuerit: prout proxima pagina indicatur.

*Ad finem adiuncta sunt sex palatia, ichnographia & orthographia variis rationibus de-
scripta, quæ ruri à magno quopiâ Principe extrui possint. Eodem autore.
Italice & Latine.*

Il settimo libro d'Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio Bo-
LOGNESE, NEL QVAL SI TRATTA DI MOLTI AC-
cidenti, che possono occorrer al *Architetto*, in diuersi luoghi, & istrane forme de
siti, è nelle restauramenti, o restituzioni di case, è come habbiamo à far, per seruicij
de gli altri edifici è simil cose: come nella sequente pagina si legge.

Nel fine vi sono aggiunti sei palazzi, con le sue piante è fazzate, in diuersi modi fatte,
per fabricar in villa per gran Principi. Del sudetto autore.
Italiano & Latino.

EX MVSEO IAC. DE STRADA S. C. M. ANTIQVARIJ, CIVIS ROMANI



Cum S. C. M. Privilegio: & Regis Galliarum.

FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENVM,

Ex officina typographica Andreae Wecheli.

M. D. LXXV.

FIGURE 7.5 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il settimo libro d'architettura* <...> nel qual si tratta di molti accidenti che possono occorrer al'architetto in diversi luoghi (Frankfurt, Wechel: 1575), prepared for the press by Jacopo Strada; title page.



FIGURE 7.6 *Attributed to Jacopo Strada and assistants, Painted and stucco ceiling of the Imperial Room, Castle of Bučovice, Moravia, ca 1583.*
IMAGE STÁTNÍ ZÁMEK BUČOVICE.



FIGURE 7.7 Attributed to a team supervised by Jacopo Strada, Central element of the painted ceiling of the Room of the Hares, Castle of Bučovice, Moravia, ca 1583.

IMAGE STÁTŇÍ ZÁMEK BUČOVICE.



FIGURE 7.8 *Attributed to a team supervised by Jacopo Strada, Painted ceiling of the Room of Venus, Castle of Bučovice, Moravia, ca 1583.*
IMAGE STÁTNÍ ZÁMEK BUČOVICE.

Antitrinitarians, and other heretics, including many Italian exiles, who gathered in nearby Slavkov / Austerlitz, Kounic's domain, and who warmly welcomed Giovan Bernardino Bonifacio in the winter of 1568–69.⁵¹

No documents linking Strada to a fourth Protestant patron in Austria or Bohemia, Hanns Friedrich Hoffmann von Grünbüchel, have been found to date, but the decorations Hoffmann had painted in 1579 in the private Evangelical chapel of his castle at Strechau in Styria, are sufficiently close in spirit to some of those at Bučovice to suggest that Strada may have contributed to these as well.⁵² The sophisticated iconographical programme of this ceiling [Fig. 7.9], exemplifying the Lutheran concept of the relation between Law and Gospel, has been attributed convincingly to the theologian and historian David Chytraeus, a pupil of Melanchthon who was professor of Theology in Rostock from 1563. He appears to have consulted closely with Ferdinand Hoffmann, Hanns Friedrich's brother, an intellectual owning a huge library and an influential courtier.⁵³

They would not have needed Strada to work out this programme in itself. Still, given the visual concept of the ceiling – a selection of Biblical scenes in a setting of grotesque ornament *all'antica* – Strada seems the most obvious source both of the artistic expertise and of the visual documentation necessary

51 Welty, *Bonifacio im Exil* 133–136; on Jan z Boskovic: Dufková K., *Jan Šembera Černohorský z Boskovic: Moravský Petr Vok (Jan Šembera Černohorský Cernohorsky of Boskovic: a Moravian Petr Vok)* (Prague: 2014); on Bučovice: Krčalová J., *Zámek v Bučovicích* (Prague: 1979); on Strada's participation: Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 405–410.

52 Subject of an exemplary investigation by an art-historian and a theologian: Guldan E. – Riedinger U., “Die protestantischen Deckenmalereien der Burgkapelle auf Strechau”, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1960) 28–86. An album in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts provides an interesting perspective on the Hoffmann brothers' artistic interest: it includes a number of architectural and ornamental prints, including designs for grotesques, and some drawings by Giuseppe Arcimboldo intended for a planned interior decoration; see H.P.R. [Rossitter, H.P.], ‘Ornament from a Sixteenth Century Library’, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 48 (1950) 46–52; Kaufmann T.D., “Ancients and Moderns: Arcimboldo's Drawings for Silk Manufacture”, *The Mastery of Nature* (Princeton: 1993) 151–173; Morel Ph., “Giuseppe Arcimboldo: Silk cultivation and manufacture”, in Ferino-Pagden S. (ed.), *Arcimboldo 1526–1593. Exhibition Catalogue Paris/Vienna* (Milan: 2007) 232–241.

53 On Maximilian II's instigation Chytraeus had been asked by the Protestant Estates of Lower Austria to develop a Church Order and a liturgy ('Agenda') for the Evangelical Church, basis for Maximilian's concession of 1568; a request repeated a few years later by the Estates of Styria, presided by Hanns Friedrich Hoffmann, with whom Chytraeus maintained close personal contacts; cf. Guldan – Riedinger, “Deckenmalereien auf Strechau” 61–65; Fichtner P., *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven – London: 2001) 148–155.



FIGURE 7.9 *Ceiling of the Evangelical chapel, Burg Strehau, Carinthia, 1579.*

IMAGE WIKIMEDIA COMMONS/ROLLROBOTER, CREATIVE COMMONS
LICENSE 4.0.

to translate the programme into pictorial terms. He was an expert in Italian grotesque decoration, the most famous examples of which, Raphael's Vatican *Loggia* and Giulio Roman's Palazzo del Te, he not only knew first hand, but had carefully documented in ample sets of detailed drawings. The beautiful, illuminated reproductions of Raphael's *Loggia* he owned, each bay of which shows scenes from the Old Testament and from the Life of Christ, were of particular relevance.⁵⁴ Moreover his interest in Bible illustration is testified elsewhere. His *Musaeum* may well have been the source for those biblical scenes

54 On these acquisitions, see Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 135–138, 533–541. Ferdinand Hoffmann's interest in architecture and decoration *all'antica* is borne out by his possession of a copy of Strada's edition of Serlio's *Settimo Libro d'Architettura* (Frankfurt 1575), which he doubtless obtained directly from Strada (now in Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Ms. Gonse 479, with splendid ornamental ex-libris; on-line through the site Architectura, Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours: http://architecture.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/ENSBA_Gonse479.asp?param=

at Strechau that are directly derived from images from, respectively, a set of Bible illustrations published in 1554 by Jean de Tournes at Lyon – with woodcuts by Bernard Salomon – and a set printed in Frankfurt in 1564 by Sigmund Feyerabend, with images by Jost Amman.⁵⁵ Strada had employed both these printers and both these engravers. Moreover, according to Ottavio's letter to his father cited above, Strada was himself engaged in the production of an illustrated Bible. He intended to commission the images for this from one 'Jan Baptista', possibly the Mantuan engraver Giovan Battista Scultori, whom Strada had employed in the 1560s, but Ottavio suggested Jost Amman, whom the Stradas had already employed in another project.⁵⁶

There is some indication that Strada may have shared some of the evangelical convictions of these patrons; that is at least suggested by rumours which were apparently going around. Though Strada claimed that these were untrue, and spread on purpose by an invidious and hypocritical associate of his, they may not have been totally unfounded. In any case they may well have been the reason why Strada appears to have lost the goodwill of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria and of Rudolf II.⁵⁷

55 As identified in Guldan – Riedinger, "Deckenmalereien auf Strechau" 73–74; *Les Figures du Nouveau Testament* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes: 1554); *Neuwe biblische Figuren/ dess Alten un Neuxen Testamnts/ geordnet und gestellt durch den jurtrefflichen uns kunstreichen Johan Bockspersgern von Salzburg/ den Jüngern / und Nach gerissen mit sonderm Fleisz durch den kunstverständigen [...] Josz Amman von Zürich* (Frankfurt a.M., Georg Rab – Sigmund Feyerabend – Weigand Han: 1564). On the other hand it is probably a coincidence that about this same time Thomas Guérin, Strada's former partner in the printing of his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*, also published a set of Bible illustrations, woodcuts by Tobias Stimmer; they were reused two years later to illustrate an edition of the Vulgate: *Biblia sacra veteris et novi Testamenti, secundum editionem vulgatum* (Basel, Thomas Guérin: 1578).

56 Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada, Nuremberg, 5 December 1574 (original in Appendix 3): 'As to the Bible, I am pleased that you want to have the drawings done by Jan Baptista, but it is not necessary that they should be worked out in detail, just the sketches would be enough, for in small things [prints?] no one is better than Jost Amen; do not spend too much money on it, for some time with our drawings we will make a beautiful Bible, but in our own good time'.

57 In a letter dated 28 September 1576 to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany, Strada responds to a rumour Dani had been told, and which three years earlier had been spread in Venice, and by the same person (cf. infra; text in Appendix 4). In a letter of 1 March 1574 Strada tells Hans Jakob Fugger that an unnamed gentleman had told him that Duke Albrecht 'si duolga di me, et che mi tenghi in poca sua gratia', but could not tell him the reason (BayHStA KUÄA 4579, fol. 69–70; published in Lietzmann, "Jacopo Strada und Kurfürst August von Sachsen" 395–396).

On the other hand, it is clear that he never openly sided with the Reformation, even though at the Imperial Court he could have done so with relative impunity. There are many indications that he considered himself a Roman Catholic, even when the Holy Office had its doubts about that. It should be noted, for instance, that even when he was still working in Nuremberg, most of Strada's known patrons were Catholics, such as Hans Jakob Fugger and Giovan Giacomo de' Medici, Marquis of Marignano, brother of Pope Pius IV. The same holds for Strada's stay in Rome, where he claimed to have been patronized by Pope Julius III and his successor, Marcello II Cervini, and by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. And it even holds for the Imperial Court, where Strada settled after his return from Rome. Though the orthodoxy of Maximilian II may be doubtful, that of his father, Emperor Ferdinand I, his brother, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol, and his brother-in-law, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, is not. Neither is that of Maximilian's trusted steward, Adam von Dietrichstein.

The fact that Strada presented himself as an orthodox Catholic is obvious from his unsuccessful request to Philip II for an ecclesiastical benefice in the Netherlands for one of his sons, which was presented by Dietrichstein, who meanwhile had become Imperial ambassador at the Spanish court. That Strada had no qualms about soliciting such sinecures for his sons – he did succeed in Mantua for his eldest son Paolo, as we have seen, and elsewhere in the Empire for his younger son Ottavio – does not seem to indicate a particularly Evangelical or Reformed attitude.

Apart from Maximilian II himself, Strada's most important and powerful patron at the Imperial court was the Bohemian magnate Vilém, 'ruling lord of the House of Rožmberk' (1535–1592), to whom Strada dedicated his edition of Serlio's *Seventh Book*. Though Strada appears to have contributed to Rožmberk's library and collections, rather than to his architectural projects, their patronage relationship appears to have been intensive and of long standing, with Strada referring to 'die alte Kundschaft'. Like Strada's earliest patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, Rožmberk used to stay in Strada's house when visiting the imperial court. When in 1576 Strada offered his services to Elector August of Saxony, Rožmberk added his own letter of recommendation to that provided by the Emperor and by August's diplomatic agent, Languet. Being both the grandest and richest Bohemian noble and the highest representative of the Crown in the Kingdom – as well as, at some time, a serious candidate for the Polish throne – in policy he was quite close to his Protestant fellow nobles, and the first two of his four wives were daughters of German Protestant princes. But he never formally changed his religion himself, and supported the Jesuits, though he was of a tolerant temperament – like Maximilian II and Hans Jakob Fugger – and, in any case, he found the social and political unity of his country and his

personal interests, and those of his class, of greater importance than confessional unity. Again, like the Emperor and Fugger, he employed a Protestant librarian, Vaclav Březan, with whom Strada also maintained contacts.⁵⁸

10 The Letter to Jacopo Dani

The only direct statement as to Strada's confession we have is included in a letter from 28 September 1576 to an old friend, Jacopo Dani, secretary of Duke Cosimo I of Florence. Strada had come to know him ten years earlier, when he was attached to the Florentine ambassador at the Imperial court, charged with the preparations for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici to Maximilian's daughter Johanna.⁵⁹ Strada responded to a letter from Dani's from which he understood that he had been slandered on the subject of his religious position. In his response he began with demolishing the reliability of Dani's source:

The same person that has tarnished my name with your Honour, you should know that he did the same in Venice three years ago, as was written to me by a confidential friend, who loves me perhaps no less than does your Honour. And one day when it was convenient, I showed the letter to His Imperial Majesty in his Chamber, and His Majesty burst out laughing, and then said some things about him that I would rather not that His Majesty should ever say about me. But with all this, he is known for a spy through the whole of Vienna, and has the worst reputation imaginable. But he chatters idly outside of Vienna, that His Majesty addresses him as 'Messer' and so on, and drinks toasts to him, and slaps him on his shoulder, and other silly things that would make you puke if I told all of his doings. As for me, it doesn't upset me at all, in fact I could not care less if he went to Rome to gossip about my business, as he does elsewhere and does other things that I won't mention here.

58 This brief account is based on Pánek J. – Šimůnek R. – Vaníček V., "The Lords of Rožmberk: An historical Study", in Pánek J. (ed.), *The Rožmberks: A short Exhibition Guide* (České Budějovice: 2011) 24–111, here 76–98; on his tolerance, see the sources cited in Evans R.J.W., *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford: 1973, reprint 1984) 66–67.

59 ASFlo, *Carteggio d'Artisti* I, fol. 135–136; the Italian text of the letter is found in Appendix nr. 4. On Dani, see Vivoli C., "Dani, Iacopo", DBI 32 (1986) 584–585.

But then he became serious, and assured Dani that he had been slandered, providing a whole list of arguments to demonstrate his *bona fides*:

You should know, Mr Secretary, that from the day I was born I have never changed my religion, nor will I ever do so until I die. At great expense, I have kept my sons in the house of the Jesuits, together with other noblemen, and these Jesuits are regular guests in my home, as are Monsignor the Nuncio and the Spanish Ambassador as well as many other lords whom it would be too much to mention all. My house is a house for all sorts of people, and if it was known for otherwise, there would not be so many gentlemen who come and visit me, and the world can judge that very well, because lately when my wife died, God bless her soul, I had her buried according to our custom; and the funeral cost me over 300 *Thaler*, and His Imperial Majesty and His Majesty the King [of the Romans, Rudolf II], sent their gentlemen of the Chamber to accompany her, and there were a host of noblemen present; and in contrast, if I would have been of the other religion, I would have sent her out of town to their church, and would have buried her for ten pounds, as they do with the gentlewomen of their religion.⁶⁰

It is difficult to judge the sincerity of this protestation. The correspondence between Strada and Dani reflects their mutual respect and friendship; all the same, we do not really know how intimate they were, and doubtless Strada would have been cautious in his statements to the secretary of a Catholic prince who collaborated loyally with the Inquisition. But he certainly wished to be considered a loyal son of the (Roman) Catholic Church. It is obvious that he did not wish to forfeit the possibility of ecclesiastical preferment for his sons; and in his will of 1584 he also stated his wish to be buried 'nach Cristlicher Ordnung zu den Innern Brüdern Atsanctam Crucem genandt', that is in the Minoritenkirche, the Franciscan church close to his town house. On the other hand, even if he were a devout and orthodox Catholic, Strada would have

60 Three years earlier, the burial of a Protestant gentlewoman, Elizabeth Thurzó de Bethlenfalva, wife of the Imperial councillor Julius Count Salm (she was a first cousin of Hans Jakob Fugger), had given rise to a popish riot: after a service outside of the city walls such as Strada describes, her mortal remains were carried in state to her family's vault within the town (Hubert Languet to Joachim Camerarius the Elder, Vienna 23 December 1573, in *Viri CL. Huberti Langueti Burgundi Ad Joachimum Camerarium Patrem, & Joachimum Camerarium, Filium, Medicum, Scriptae Epistolae* (Groningen, Johannes Nicolai: 1646) 146–149; cited in Nicollier-De Weck, *Hubert Languet* 358.

preferred to leave religion out of his dealings with members of the Austrian and Bohemian nobility, considering that at this time most of such patrons or potential patrons were Protestant.

So we cannot be sure that Strada really was as orthodox as he claimed, and he certainly did not have the reputation of a sound catholic. In 1578 a Mantuan agent reported to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua that Rudolf II did not care if 'Giacomo Strada' were to be deprived of that chaplaincy in Mantua Cathedral (which was in fact held by his son Paolo), 'because he does not consider him as a good Christian, but as a heretic': possibly the reason why he lost that ruler's favour.⁶¹

All the same his letter to Dani is a key document in determining Strada's position in the religious troubles of his time, and is of some interest in view of the important role of the confessional situation at Maximilian's court.⁶² Strada's position seems to reflect the mind-set of the tolerant intellectuals of both persuasions of Maximilian's entourage, so scathingly derided as 'Hofchristen' by the more militant Catholics in Vienna, such as Maximilian's convert court preacher, Martin Eisengrein, and the lawyer and Rector of Vienna University, Georg Eder. Perhaps it was the mind-set of Maximilian II himself, who was associated with it and was considered largely responsible for it by Eisengrein: 'Piscis putrescit in capite', 'the fish begins to stink at the head'.⁶³ The 'Rätselhafte Kaiser' or 'enigmatic Emperor', as he was dubbed by his first biographer, Viktor Bibl, was very secretive about his personal beliefs, up to his final moments – so

61 'perch' non lo tiene per buon cristiano, anzi per heretico': Giorgio Carretto to Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, Linz, 16 July 1578, ASMn, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 459, fols. 11, 135–136; published in Venturini, *Le collezioni Gonzaga* 254, nr. 183. In the same year a Mantuan nobleman in Prague tried to obtain a benefice in Mantua for one of his grandsons, arguing that a similar favour had been granted to Strada, 'che è fuori della nostra religione catholica': Edoardo Provisionali to Anselmo Mondino, secretary of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, Prague 30 October 1578 son, ibidem, fols. 14, 448–449; published ibidem 259, nr. 199.

62 On Maximilian II and the Vienna Court, see Holtzmann R., *Kaiser Maximilian II. bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung (1527 bis 1574)* (Berlin: 1903); Bibl V., "Die Kulturblüte Wiens und seiner Umgebung unter Maximilian II.," *Monatsblatt des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 17 (1918) 139–153; Idem, *Maximilian II., der rätselhafte Kaiser: Ein Zeitbild* (Hellerau bei Dresden: 1929); Edelmayer F. – Kohler, A. (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian II.: Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna – Munich: 1992); Louthan, *Quest for Compromise*; Fichtner, *Maximilian II.*; on the confessional situation also Almási G. – Molino P., "Nikodemismus und Konfessionalisierung am Hof Maximilians II.," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 22 (2011) 112–128.

63 'Piscis putrescit in capite', quoted in Fichtner, *Maximilian II* 149.

much so that both Catholics and Evangelicals claimed him as one of their own. We do not know exactly how much of Maximilian's limited tolerance towards his evangelical subjects was due to the political and financial pressure of the Estates of his various territories, most of whom at the time were Protestant. We do know, though, that he worked together with them loyally and respected them. His insistence on taking Holy Communion in both kinds shows that he did have strong personal religious convictions, but he also realized more and more that it was not always wise to be demonstrative about them. And we do know that he considered it a sin to coerce people's consciences, an unacceptable encroachment on the celestial domain even for the prince who rules by the Grace of God – an opinion perhaps due to his early contacts with Jacopo Aconcio, who sent him his *Dialogo nel qual si scuoprono le astutie che usano lutherani per ingannar i semplici* of 1558: in contrast to what its title suggests, this is a treatise on religious toleration.⁶⁴

Deviating from Louthan's point of view, Gábor Almási rightly points out that,

[...] whereas the cosmopolitan and religiously indifferent atmosphere of the imperial court was one of the most important preconditions of its cultural flourishing in the late sixteenth century, this irenic attitude, which was based on the heritage of Erasmus and on the demand for individual spirituality, neither constituted a movement nor figured much in the intellectual debates of the region.⁶⁵

And he also points out that in practice Maximilian's open attitude had been shared by his far more orthodox father, Ferdinand I, one-time pupil of Erasmus, as it would be to some extent by his even more orthodox son, Rudolf II. Ferdinand's court had been almost as mixed from a confessional point of view as that of his son, which he justified by the proverb 'don't ask after the origin of good men and of good wines' – an attitude which seems remarkably close to Strada's 'my house is a house for all sorts of people'.⁶⁶

64 Fichtner, *Maximilian II* 39–40; Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 234–236; on Aconcio, see Cantimori D., "Aconcio, Iacopo", *DBI* 1 (1960) 154–159; Giacomoni, *Aconcio: Trattato della fortificazioni*, and above, note 11.

65 Almási G., "The Riddle of Themistius' 'Twelfth Oration' and the Question of Religious Tolerance in the Sixteenth Century", *Central Europe* 2,2 (2004) 83–108, here 84–85.

66 Ferdinand's remark was included in a letter from Andreas Dudith to Theodore de Bèze of 9 September 1577, quoted in Almási, *Uses of Humanism* 107–108.

11 Strada's House as an Informal Meeting Place

That for Strada this was no mere formula, is made clear in a much later letter to Dani, who had written him late in 1581 to introduce a Florentine nobleman, Riccardo Riccardi, whom Strada immediately invited to his house and for whom he planned a dinner party suitable for providing intellectual entertainment in Italian for this distinguished guest.⁶⁷ It is ironic that only a few months after Strada's execution in effigy by the Mantuan inquisition, two of his other guests were to have been distinguished Dominican friars, one of whom was a professor at Vienna University, and the other a nephew of Ferdinand I's court preacher Matthias Cithardus, Konrad, who himself would die in 1606 as the provincial General of the order. The guest of honour was the Croatian prelate Juraj Drašcović, Archbishop of Kalocsa and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary, who resided in Strada's house. These were all most learned men, 'nelle scienze et facoltà consumatissime', 'highly accomplished in science and letters', and all spoke Italian. Strada also had wanted to show Riccardi his house, his collections and his library. That Riccardi – the future founder of the Bibliotheca Riccardiana – declined the invitation, indicates that Strada's position had become marginalized and, as he suggested himself, that the malicious rumours that were circulating had accomplished their insidious aim. But in the 1560s and 1570s his house had in fact been a centre where 'all sorts of people' would meet one another, finding not only conversation partners of all persuasions, but also a wide selection of materials providing food for thought and discussion. The *Stammbuch* of Strada's younger son Ottavio shows that many people, from all sides of the confessional spectrum, did in fact visit the house, for instance the English Protestant champion, the poet Philip Sidney. Doubtless he was introduced by his closest friend, Hubert Languet, who had repeatedly visited Strada's house and praised it to his patron, Elector August of Saxony, as the finest private residence in town.⁶⁸ That was not without reason: Strada's

67 Jacopo Strada to Jacopo Dani, Vienna 2 November 1581, ASFlo, Carte e spoglie Stroziane, I, 308, fol. 63–72, printed in Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 690–693.

68 Languet to Elector August of Saxony, Vienna, 7 September 1576, in Lietzmann, "Strada und Kurfürst August" 398: 'Viennae fui saepius in eius aedibus, quas ad normam veteris architecturae ita aedificavit, ut nesciam, an ullae sint in ea urbe conferendae cum illis elegantia et iis rebus, quae ad commode habitandum sunt necessariae.' (In Vienna I was often in his [Strada's] house, which he has had been built according to the rules of ancient architecture, and to such effect that I could not name another house in that city of similar elegance and provided with so many features conducive to commodious living). Ottavio Strada's *Stammbuch* in the National Library in Prague, Ms. 5 J 39; see Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 426–427; it mostly records visits of high ranking noblemen, diplomats

house was a quite conspicuous mansion, a 'Freihaus' the possession of which was reserved for the nobility, and as such already an expression of Strada's social standing. But it was also a completely new construction, built as an object lesson in the most advanced Vitruvian architecture, inspired by the Roman designs of Raphael and his pupil Giulio Romano, Strada's one-time teacher [Figs. 7.10–7.11].⁶⁹ It housed what Strada proudly called his *Musaeum*, which contained his collections of ancient coins and other antiquities, paintings and documentary drawings, as well as an impressive library of over three thousand volumes – including, Strada claimed, all ever printed in Hebrew – and a goodly quantity of manuscripts. This studio also served as the workshop for the projects Strada undertook, primarily of an antiquarian and philological character, including a 'Dictionary of eleven languages, which is a task at which I have laboured for eighteen years, during which I have always maintained people at work on it'.

12 The Books in the Library – or Bookshop – and Photius' *Bibliotheca*

But the scope of Strada's library appears to have been much wider, and did include theology – his interest in Hebrew texts of course also points in that direction. Some indication of its contents is given by a catalogue of printed books Strada appears to have offered to the Emperor, and by a list of manuscripts added to one copy of Strada's 'Index sive catalogus', a list of voluminous illustrated works Strada intended to publish [Fig. 7.12].⁷⁰ To finance this, he appears to have been prepared to sell parts of his library that were less relevant for his own projects. This additional survey lists hundred and fifty three manuscript volumes he was prepared to part with, almost all collections

and prelates, perhaps reason why Languet, only an informal agent, is not included. On Strada's circle in general, *ibidem* 424–437.

69 Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 277–289.

70 ÖNBW Ms. 9038, fols. 99–101 is headed 'Index venalis: Catalogus ex bibliotheca Stradae', and lists a huge number of printed books, indicating format, short title, place of publication and price or estimate. *Ibidem*, Ms. 10101 contains a copy of the 'Index sive catalogus', followed by a list of 153 volumes of manuscript, mostly convolutes including over five hundred titles in all. Cf. Jansen D.J., "Jacopo Strada's Antiquarian Interests: A Survey of his *Musaeum* and its Purpose", *Xenia: Semestrale di antichità* 21 (1991) 59–76 (misread by Louthan, *Quest for compromise* 125, note 12: only the manuscripts listed in the 'Index sive catalogus' proper made part of Strada's publication efforts).



FIGURE 7.10 *Salomon Kleiner, View of the Stadtpalais Liechtenstein in Vienna: detail showing the lateral façade of the house opposite, built by Jacopo Strada ca. 1565–1570. Drawing in pen and wash on paper, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 9, Bd. 1, fol. 12.*

IMAGE ÖNB/BILDARCHIV.

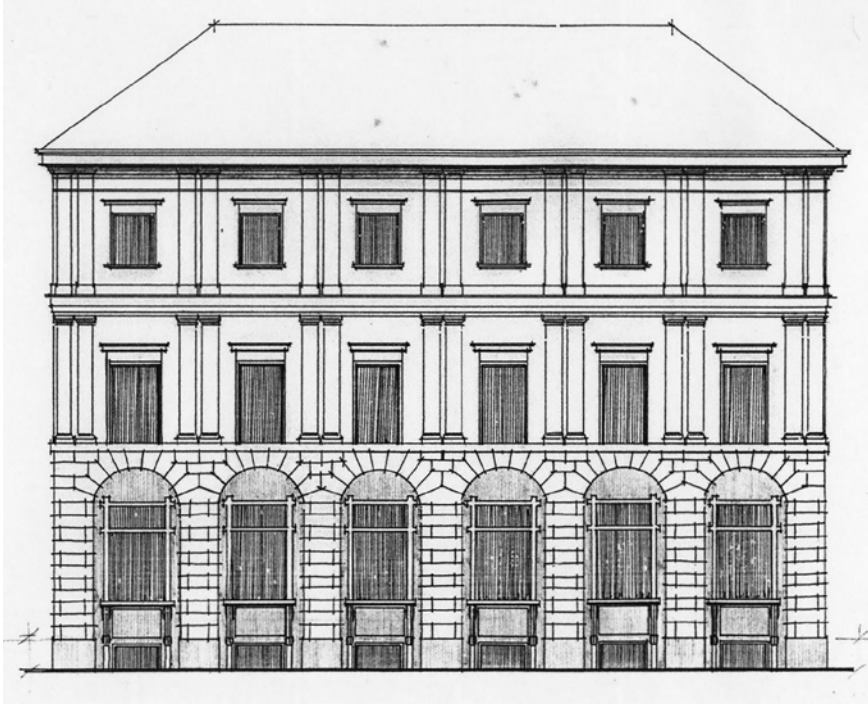


FIGURE 7.11 *Mario Carpo, Reconstruction of the lateral façade of Strada's house, based on Salomon Kleiner's drawing. Drawing in pen and ink; author; reproduced by kind permission of Prof. Carpo.*

including several works, in all over five hundred separate titles [Fig. 7.13].⁷¹ Many of these are medical texts, but the greater part are theological, including texts of (primarily Greek) Fathers and sources for church history, such as the acts of various synods, including the Council of Florence. Many of them were old codices, but the list also regularly mentions modern transcripts. Perhaps this reflects Strada's contribution to Hans Jakob Fugger's library, where the interest and rarity of the text – and the quality of the transcription – was of greater importance than the originality and appearance of the actual book as an object. An analysis of this list and its context is long overdue, though it may be difficult to separate Strada's own interests from those of his prospective patrons.

If in the 1540 an – admittedly Spanish – Inquisitor could state that someone who collected ancient Greek and Latin books, 'no esta catolico', 'is no catholic',

71 A final note states that a further twenty volumes bought later had not yet been added to the list.

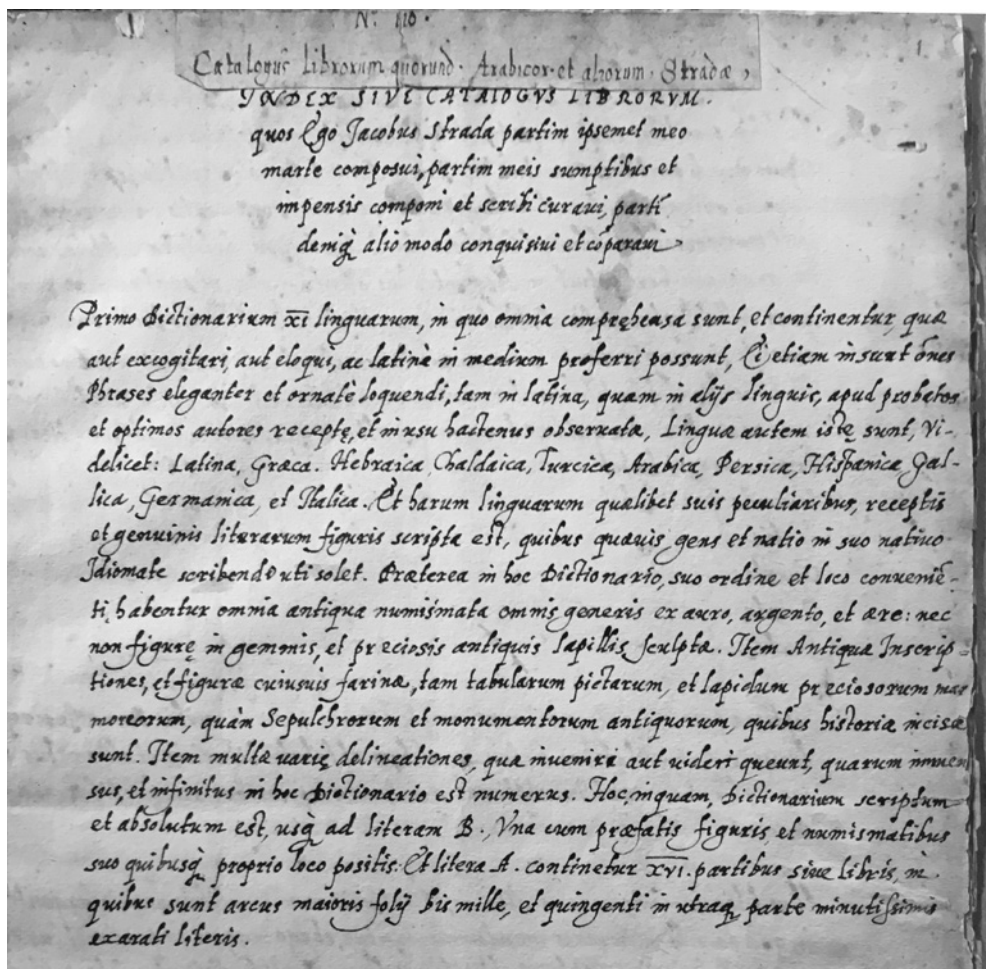


FIGURE 7.12 The beginning of Jacopo Strada's Index sive catalogus, a list of illustrated, mostly antiquarian books he intended to publish; manuscript on paper in scribe's hand. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 10101, fol. 1r-5r.

it is perfectly possible that the Holy Office observed Strada with suspicion just because of his huge library, and even more because of his extensive activities as a bookseller.⁷² Though his own projects (except perhaps for his edition of Panvinio's *Epitome Pontificum* of 1557) had no religious, let alone confessional connotations, in view of his close contact with Protestant printers, and the great demand for theological literature, it would be odd if he had not provided

72 Cited in Canfora L., *Il Fozio ritrovato: Juan de Mariana e André Schott* (Bari: 2001) 25.

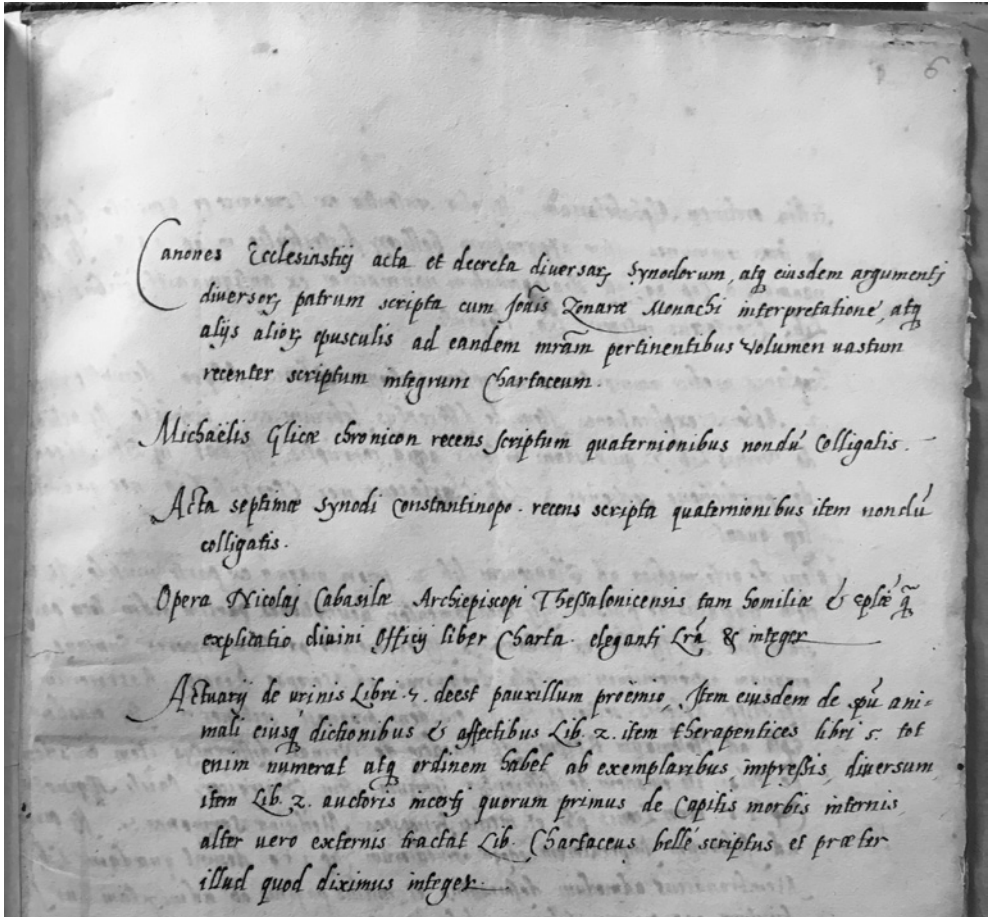


FIGURE 7.13 The beginning of a survey attached to Jacopo Strada's Index sive catalogus, listing manuscripts from his library he intended to sell; manuscript on paper in scribe's hand. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 10101, fol. 6r–14r.

his patrons – perhaps on both sides of the Alps! – also with materials that were not considered orthodox in the Catholic camp.

One concrete example in which his antiquarian zeal may have pushed him across the border of the acceptable to Rome is his project in the 1570s to publish the *Bibliotheca* or *Myrobiblion* of the Byzantine scholar St. Photius the Great, Patriarch of Constantinople (ca. 810–893).⁷³ This is a compilation of summaries and critical reviews of Greek Classical and Patristic texts of the

73 It is included in Strada's 'Index sive catalogus' (as in note 69), the list of mostly illustrated and encyclopaedic works Strada intended to publish (cf. Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada*

greatest importance, because many of the works treated in it are no longer extant. At first sight this seems a perfectly innocuous and laudable antiquarian and humanist ambition. But unfortunately Photius himself, maintaining the (Greek) Orthodox interpretation of the Nicene Creed, had been in conflict with Rome and was now considered a schismatic by the prelates gathered at Trent. Though his book was highly desired by many, the Catholic scholars who had managed to obtain transcripts of the only two existing older manuscripts in the West (which were and are both in the Biblioteca Marciana), tended to be very careful with them. Thus the Protestant Zurich humanist and printer, Conrad Gesner, a close associate of Hans Jakob Fugger, and the editor of the first general bibliography ever, the *Bibliotheca Universalis* of 1545, was quite eager to publish this additional text, but was unable to get hold of a copy. Luciano Canfora has devoted a fascinating study to the history of these manuscripts and of the editio princeps, which came out only a quarter of a century after Strada formulated his plan, as a subversive collaboration between David Hoeschel, a Protestant humanist from Augsburg, and Andreas Schott, a highly learned Flemish Jesuit, who a few years later also published the first Latin translation.⁷⁴

Strada had grown up and had matured when and where the confessions still were in communication; he had known Gesner in Hans Jakob Fugger's circle, and he was aware of the copy of Photius' *Bibliotheca* in Fugger's own library – perhaps he himself had even supplied it. Thanks to his connection with Fugger, he could borrow it shortly before the library was shipped to Munich, after its sale to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in 1566.⁷⁵ Strada must have

578–588; transcription, *ibidem* 28, nr. 21): 'Duo libri, seu tomi Bibliotheca Phoci, Graeca lingua conscripti et ante huc in lucem non editi'.

74 *Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Φωτίου: Librorum quos legit Photius Patriarcha excerpta et censurae*, ed. David Hoeschel (Augsburg, Johannes Praetorius: 1601); *Photii Bibliotheca. Sive Lectorum à Photio librorum Recensio, Censura atque Excerpta, Philologorum, Oratorum, Historicorum, Philosophorum, Medicorum, Theologorum / è Graeco Latine reddita, Scholiisque illustrata*, ed. Andreas Schott (Augsburg, Johannes Praetorius: 1606), both books were printed at the same press and dedicated to the same patron, Marcus Welser; cf. Canfora, *Fozio ritrovato*.

75 A note in a catalogue by the Munich librarian Wolfgang Prommer documents Strada having borrowed the transcript from Fugger's library before it came to Munich (Hartig, *Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek* 12, note 1; 116). Though Canfora, *Il Fozio Ritrovato*, of course was aware of the copy from Fugger's library (BSB Ms. Gr. 30), he did not know of Strada's interest in it. It should be noted that, apart from Fugger, Strada had personal contacts with many of the owners of, or the scholars involved with, the various copies of the text (such as Marcello Cervini, Antonio Agustín, Cardinal Granvelle, Aldo Manuzio il Giovane, Gianvincenzo Pinelli, Janus Sambucus). It is likely that, in publishing Photius,

realized its uses for the Republic of Letters, and its potential as a bestseller. But either he was not really aware of the controversy surrounding this work, though warned by his earlier experience in Mantua, or he consciously denied the Church's right to limit access to such controversial sources – in which case his later condemnation for 'contumacy' – wilful and repeated disregard of its authority – would have been justified at least from the point of view of the Inquisitors.

Conclusion

The mere fact that Strada was persecuted by the Inquisition raises questions about Strada's confessional affiliation. His own work and career provide hardly any concrete information about any specific religious convictions he may have held – he certainly was not an Italian reformer. The aim of this paper has been to collect and present the documents in the case, that is those sources which seem relevant to what may have been Strada's personal religious position, and relate to his persecution by the Holy Office. But even the latter are hardly definite, and difficult to interpret.

The principal consideration is that Strada seems to have worked for patrons, employed colleagues such as artists and printers, and socialized with fellow courtiers and learned men, irrespective of their confessional allegiance. When he assisted some of his compatriots who had fled their country 'religionis causa', such as Girolamo Donzellini, Mino Celsi and the Marquis of Oria, he likewise may have done this out of respect for their intellectual qualities or out of fellow feeling for compatriots fallen on hard times; it does not automatically imply that he shared their religious sympathies. But it does imply an attitude of tolerance and understanding. This is an attitude which Strada shared with most of his patrons, and which was typical for the humanist aristocratic elite of his generation, the members of which in general had been educated in the irenic spirit of Erasmus or Melanchton, rather than in the combative spirit of Luther, Calvin or Ignatius of Loyola. It is an attitude that was particularly typical for the court of Maximilian II, often hailed as the last safe haven of freedom of conscience and peaceful coexistence of the various confessions. Thus

Strada intended to lean on the labour of Sambucus, his learned colleague at the Imperial court, who himself was collecting material for an edition of the *Bibliotheca* (Canfora, *Il Fozio Ritrovato* 85–90), and to whom he probably made the Fugger copy available. Photius is not mentioned in the list of manuscripts in Strada's possession which he intended for sale (cf. above, note 69).

it is not surprising that Strada, as one of its most prominent Italian courtiers, would have implicitly shared it. But Strada also explicitly stated this attitude in his letter to Jacopo Dani, when he said that his house was a house for all sorts of people, *'La mia casa è casa per hogni sorte d'huomini'*.⁷⁶

The intransigent Catholics at Maximilian's court doubtless counted Strada among the 'Hofchristen' or 'courtly Christians', whom they considered hypocrite opportunists without any conviction, or Nicodemites who only feigned adherence to the Catholic faith, while hiding their real, pernicious and heretical opinions; and they considered the Emperor himself to be the hypocrite in chief. But the available data do not imply that Strada was a Nicodemite, hiding Protestant convictions behind a Catholic exterior. It seems rather unlikely that he did indeed hide his views. Not only was the dissimulation of Evangelical or heterodox ideas not imperative to survive at Maximilian's court, but it would not have been in character, if we can believe Niccolò Stopio's testimony of Strada's attitude while in Venice, cited earlier:

[...] though I have never heard from his talking that he is against Rome, except that he is very free in his reasoning, and once he gets angry he respects no one, whomsoever it may be.⁷⁷

The passion with which Strada expressed his opinions suggests a humanist, rational spirit, trained in critical thinking, rather than partisan intransigence. Whatever Strada's criticism of the Pope and of Rome in general, we cannot be sure that his external adherence to the Catholic Church was not in fact based on sincere conviction. When Strada assured his friend Jacopo Dani that he has never changed his religion, he sounds rather sincere:

You should know, Mr Secretary, that from the day I was born I have never changed my religion, nor will I ever do so until the day I die.⁷⁸

But this does not imply automatic, uncritical adherence to Roman dogma and Canon Law. A case can be made that Tridentine Catholicism – the fruit of Catholic Reform – in confirming the schism initiated now exactly five hundred years ago, had fundamentally changed the religion in which the generation of Strada had been brought up, almost as much as Luther and Calvin had done. Though welcoming necessary reforms, perhaps Strada did not accept

⁷⁶ Cited above, note 58.

⁷⁷ Cited above, note 26.

⁷⁸ Cited above, note 58.

the schism itself, and for that reason refused to consider himself as a Catholic or a Protestant, preferring to consider himself a Christian, like Maximilian II himself. It is an attitude which reflects a marked, aristocratic distaste for the unmannered upstarts who so often were the prime movers of persecution on either side of the divide: the fanatics, careerists, or both, who at least in the short run almost always appear to win the day (as often today as in the sixteenth century). It is exactly these upstarts who may have prosecuted Strada not only on the basis of some concrete suspicions, but also in order to score points against the unorthodox Emperor, whom they could not hope to personally attack.

This distance from clear-cut dogmatic positions is confirmed by Strada's apparent absence in the correspondence of his evangelical or heretical compatriots. Though he had contact with a number of them, and perhaps by some was considered a sympathetic fellow-traveller, he was not really part of their network. Their contacts were based on shared origin, language and culture, and occurred within a more general network of Italian expatriates in the German lands. Though Strada was aware of the confessional divide and its principal issues, he appears not to have taken any prominent part in formal confessional discussions, which may not really have interested him that much. What did interest him was the art and architecture of Antiquity, and its revival by some of the great masters of the Renaissance, especially Raphael and his pupil Giulio Romano, who had been his own teacher. Most of his activities can be interpreted as an attempt to promote the innovations stimulated by the rediscovery of Antiquity in his adoptive country, an attempt which at least in part was motivated by a degree of Italian patriotism and – in the case of Mantua – a degree of *campanilismo*, of local chauvinism. In this his activities provide an immediate parallel with, for instance, those of the Basel printer Pietro Perna, who in addition to many Protestant and heterodox texts (partly intended for the Italian underground market), also printed or reprinted many classic and contemporary literary and historical texts of Italian authors (such as Petrarch, Machiavelli, Giovio, Guicciardini and Castelvetro), in the original and/or in Latin, French and German translations. Though Strada was not a Reformer himself, his role can therefore be compared to the role played by Italian Reformers in the diffusion of Renaissance culture across the Alps, as signalled in John Tedeschi's 1974 article: 'it has the appearance of a deliberate and self-conscious attempt to transmit what was best in Italian culture to the north'.⁷⁹

79 Tedeschi J., "Italian Reformers and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 5,2 (1974) 79–94.

Note

This paper is a spin-off of my research in the framework of the project 'Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus: Ein numismatisches Corpus des 16. Jahrhunderts', funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and located at the Gotha Research Centre of Erfurt University. It has greatly profited from the comments of the participants in the Padua workshop, from Stephen Walsh's linguistic advice, and from Jaak Crasborn's help with the illustration. It is fitting to dedicate it to Robert Evans, who insisted that I include a discussion of Strada's confessional position in my dissertation, the embryo of the present paper.

Appendix: Documents

I

Jacopo Strada to Emperor Maximilian II, without place and date; autograph, request handed to the Emperor in person⁸⁰

Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Familienakten* 98, *Konvolut* 'Hofantiquarius'

Termini are the dates of Maximilian's reign, but Strada's doubtless would not have waited more than five, six years for his money, so an early date (ca 1564–65?) is more probable.

Sacra Cesarea Maestà, Signor mio Clementissimo,

L'anno 1557 feci stampare dui libri in Vinetia, l'uno una Epithome de' Pontefici con le loro arme, con quelle anche de li Cardinali, l'altro li Fasti ab Urbe condita, con tutte le medaglie de li Imperatori ch'io potè trovar in quel tempo; tutto stampato di lettere maiuscole. Il primo, de Pontefici, lo dedimai a la Pia et Felice memoria del Imperatore Ferdinando, et questo de Fasti, lo dedimai a la Sacra Maestà Vostra. Questi libri, quando venni al servitio, li consegnai et vendette a un libraro a Francoforte, che ad hogni Fiera me ne pagasse un tanto, insino al fine del pagamento; mai da esso ne ò potuto cavar danari alcuno, se non parole.

Suplico la Maestà Cesarea Vostra che sia contenta concedermi dui mesi di tempo ch'io possa andar a Francoforte, et una lettera di favore alli Signori di esso luogo, che mi vogliano far raggion sumaria, et come servidor de la Maestà Vostra Cesarea mi vogliano trattare; et in casu che lui fosse absente, che siano arestati le sue robbe per insino ch'io

80 In the transcripts obvious abbreviations have been resolved and some interpunction has been added for readability.

sia pagato da lui. Il nome di questo libraro si chiama[?] Pietro Perna, stampatore e libraro, di Bassilea.

Creddero che da costui mi bisognara pigliar buona parte de libri in pagamento; se la Maestà Vostra Cesarea vole ch'io ne porti un supplimento per augmentatione della Sua libreria, li portaro, et ne avero bonissimo mercato da lui; et volendoli la Maestà Vostra, quella comandi che mi sia dato l'inventario delli libri della Sua libreria, acciò non si portino doppii, salvo se non fossero ristampati et aggiuntovi di più che nella prima editione.

Suplico anche la Maestà Vostra Cesarea che mi voglia far gratia di un passaporto in lingua todesca per far questo viaggio, non altro.

Humilmente basio le mani alla Maestà Vostra Cesarea e megli ariccomando; il Signor Iddio gli dia il buono et felice anno et La conservi.

Di Vostra Maestà Cesarea humilissimo servidor,

Jacopo Strada

2

Jacopo Strada to an unknown former collaborator from Mantua, without place, without date; autograph, fragmentary draft of a letter which may never have been sent.

ÖNBW, *Handschriftensammlung*, Ms. 9039, fol. 21r

The letter should be dated not very long after the events it describes, probably early in 1569.

[*Preceding page lost*] [...] e vi giuro che se voi vi mettete la barba al petto, e quando in casa vostra vi mirate atorno, sete il piu povero homo [*inserted above the line*: e 'l più infelice] che sia in Mantua, e non avete persona che non vi dessideri la morte [*inserted above the line*: perchè consumate del continuo e vendete tutto quello che avete] [et] perchè sara la salute di tutti li vostri figlioli. Ma il signor iddio è giusto signore, che dela moneta che voi pagate gli altri, vostri figlioli vi pagan voi. [*inserted above the line*:] e anche si dice un proverbio che la tacca si assimilia al legno; in Mantua è noto + [*insert continued as marginal annotation, partly obscured in the binding*:] [qual<?>] mala compagnia / che voi facevi à vostro / [p]adre per tanto non vi / <do>lete dela moneta che / [v]i pagano li vostri figlioli / [è<?>] anche noto dela bene- / [vo]lenza che maestro Nic.^o orelice / [vi<?>] voleva è di che moneta voi / [lo<?>] pagasti, non credete voi che / <in[?]> Mantua, Verona Vinetia / dove sete conossuto che / [le<?>] cose si sapino, non vale / [l'<?>] ippocrisia, con aver più / [scor]ze adosso che non a la cipolla [*end of the insert*]. Se considerate il stato vostro, sete amato da pochi e odiato da molti, perchè il vizio dela ingratitudine a deli altri rami, che voi li conossete meglio di me. Or lassiamo tutto questo, perchè voi non fate ne dite cosa a me che non lo abbiate fatto, e del continuo fate a de li altri; e che sia la verità, vedete che è cosa publica in Mantua, e

da varie [*inserted above the line*: persone] scritto, che eravate ala Inquisitione in presione e [*inserted above the line*:] guardate se questi vi sono amici ò no. Non sapete voi ch'io so che [*end of insert*] [*crossed out*: e] al tempo del Cardinale Herchole vn altra volta fusti inquisito, ma il Cardinale vi aiutò, avendo compassione a li vostri figlioli, si come ora io mi ero mosso per aiutarvi. Non sapete ch'io so l'animo vostro che tenete contro a li frati, e in quanti modi voi li infamati; e poi vi andate struffinando atorno a le loro banche, e li chiamate R[iveren]di; ma tutto questo fate malitosamente per inganarli. Ma essi si [*unreadable, in margin*: <ven>]dicaranno ò per tardo ò per tempo, si che guardate à non fare come fa la farfalla che va girando atorno ala [*in margin*: can]dela, che tanto gira che gli cade dentro. Vi sete voi scordato la benevolenza ch'io vi portò di quel atto ch'io feci di volervi pagar il cocchio e darvi danari per mandarvi a Verona; ma di già avevate fatto vella e tanto miseramente essendovi fugito à piedi da Mantova à Verona [*inserted above the line*: a digiuno], avendo lassato la tavola parechiata per dessinare. Ma la mia fuga è stata da gentiluomo, perchè prima mi volsi valere del grado mio, e come servidor del primo signor del mondo andai a parla[r] al Ducha, che mi assicurasse me e li miei homini, che per me lavoravano; e voi eravate il primo posto sulla lista, tanto è l'amor ch'io vi portò. In fine vedendo le scuse di non potere, me ne vene a Vinetia. Ma poi che voi cominciate a cantare, dite tutto l'historia, e dite come il Delfino Cardinale [*crossed out*: patriarcha; *corrected above the line*: essendo vescovo], non gli volendo prestar mille [scud]i, ne tampoco farla sigurtà, esso à fatto questo ufizio; ma ancora lui è conossiuto.⁸¹ Or basta; la vostra misera fuga mai da me è stata publicata, per non vi far tal vergogna, se pur per tale voi la tenete; [*crossed out*: <unreadable>] non so se voi, quando parlate di me vi ricordate di voi [?], perchè vi partisti avanti di me; ma voi dovesti dire in questo modo: primo, io mi fugì da Mantua per lutherano overo ateista, a piedi, e con pochi danari, il Strada si è fugito [*concept breaks off here*].

3

Excerpts from a letter from Ottavio Strada to Jacopo Strada, Nuremberg, 5 September (mistake for December) 1574; autograph

ÖNBW, Handschriftensammlung, Ms. 9039, fols. 112–113; printed in Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* 687–690.

Mi trovo una deli 13 di Novembre gratissima et intesi il tutto, come voi mi scrivete, come l'italiano sia tanto incorreto, sappiate che, [*crossed out*: la] secondo 'l Minos [*sic*] Celsi lo corregò, io lo describei con diligentia, et l'Dotor Mantuano lo corregò, di maniera, che io non posso più che tanto. Secondo la copia lui stampa, et li dissi che tenghi

81 Zaccaria Dolfin (sometimes Italianised as Delfino; Venice 29 March 1527–29 December 1583, was a Catholic Bishop, a Cardinal (1565) and Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court (1554–1556 and 1560–1565).

le mie copie, perchè un giorno ne possi confrontare. Io so che lui è molto diligente nel stampar, et il più diligente che sia in Francofort; io so che li copiai justo come la copia del Vecchio [= *Sebastiano Serlio*]; et ringratia Dio che 'l Wecchel accetai di stampar il libro, perchè nonnè nisuno che fosse stato buon per stampar Italiano numma [*cf. 'numà; Mantuan dialect for 'solo; 'soltanto; 'solamente*'⁸²] lui, perchè in tutta Francofort non havete altro Italiano, solum quel Dottor Mantuano; et io mi bisogno pregarlo tanto che accettesse di coreger la mia coppia; et secunda la sua correzione, le fo stampare.⁸³ E ben assai che in Alemagna dove non sono Italiani si stampi Italiano; se'l Wechel non havesse voluto accetar di stampar, non haveria trovato commodità qui, et certo lo <*sic*> tempo perso voler stampar Italiano in allemagna, dove non si trova gente, voi non lo credete come poca gente sono in Francoforte d'huomini dotti....

Della Biblia mi piace che vogliate far disegnar al Jan Baptista,⁸⁴ ma non accaderebe che fussero fatti tanto diligente, solum li schizzi, perchè in cose piccoline non havete meglio di Jost Amen;⁸⁵ non spendete tropo denari intorno, perchè una volta con li nostri disegni ne faremo far una bella Biblia, ma col tempo. <...>

Del Minos [*sic*] Celsi, non ò auto ancor aviso di lui. Ieri hebi una lettera del Marchese Oria, et vedrete quel che lui mi scrive; et spero al anno novo mi partiro di qui, et li scrivere se vora tradure [*crossed out: il*] la *Castrametatione*.⁸⁶ La vostra lettera scritta a lui le mandai subito a Basilea. Credo che non sarà ordine di poterlo stampare al altra Fiera, ne tampoco le *Commentaria Caesaris*, perchè le figure non li ò ancora, et ci va tempo in disignar et intagliarci. Vorei in prima vedere quello del Palladio, et credo che l'suo sarà d'un altra maniera chel nostro.⁸⁷

82 Cherubini F., *Vocabolario Mantovano-Italiano* (Milan: 1827) 77.

83 Serlio Sebastiano, *Architecturae liber septimus in quo multa explicantur, quae architecto variis locis possunt occurrere* [...] / *Il settimo libro d'architettura* [...] nel qual si tratta di molti accidenti che possono occorrer al' architetto in diuersi luoghi [...], Ex Musaeo Iac. de Strada S.C.M. Antiquarii, Civis Romani, Frankfurt a.M. [Andreas Wechel] 1575. I have not yet been able to identify the 'Dotor Mantuano'.

84 Possibly the Mantuan engraver Giovanni Battista Scultori, whom Strada had employed during his 1567 stay in his hometown; less likely is the humanist and draughtsman Giovanni Battista Fonteo, to whom Ottavio elsewhere in the letter refers with his last name, rather than his first name.

85 The Nuremberg engraver Jost (Jodocus) Amman, Zürich 1539 – Nürnberg März 1591; cf. above, note 56.

86 Strada never succeeded in printing Serlio's *Castrametatio* according to Polybius, also indicated as his 'Eighth Book' (BSB Cod. Icon 190,1); modern edition: Serlio Sebastiano, *Architettura civile: libri sesto, settimo e ottavo nei manoscritti di Monaco e Vienna*, ed. Franceso Paolo Fiore – Tancredi Carrunchio (Roma: 1994).

87 *C. Julii Caesaris rerum gestarum commentarii xiv* [...] *omnia collatis antiquis manuscriptis exemplaribus* [...] *cum doctiss. annotationibus Henrici Glareani, Fulvio Ursini Romani, Francisci Hotomani, I.C., Aldi Manutii, P.F.*; Ex Musaeo et impensis Iacobi Stradae

4

Jacopo Strada to Jacopo Dani, secretary of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany, Prague, 28 September 1576; clerk's hand

Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Carteggio d'artisti* 1, fol. 135–136

The letter could well have been written on dictation by one of Jacopo's sons, Paolo or Ottavio Strada, which would explain some odd spelling mistakes for a native speaker

Molto Magnifico Signor mio sempre osservandissimo,

Da Paolo Strada mio figliuolo ò inteso da Vienna la riceuta della lettera di Vostra Signoria, in compagnia di quella di Sua Altezza dritta a Sua Maestà Cesarea; la quale si dara alla venuta sua a Vienna, et del tutto vi avisaro del successo. Et Vostra Signoria basia la mane a Sua Altezza da mia parte et la ringratii. Et s'io ò cosa in casa mia o in mio potere che piaccia a Sua Altezza, tutto è al comando Suo; et alla Signoria Vostra infiniti oblii gliene porto, et se mai la potro servire in qualche cosa non gliene saro ingrato.

Colui che à dato questo nome di me alla Signoria Vostra, sappiate che lo à fatto anche in Venetia tre anni sonno, et mi fu scritto da un mio amico confidente, il quale non mi ama forse manco che la Signoria Vostra. Et io un giorno con commodità la monstri la lettera a Sua Maestà Cesarea in Camera, et Sua Maestà si misse a ridere, et poi mi disse alcune parole di lui, ch'io non vorebbe già, che Sua Maestà dicesse di me. Ma con tutto questo, lui cognosciuto per spione per tutta la Città, et è tenuta in villissima consideratione; ma lui ciarla bene fuori di Vienna, che S.M. chiama Messer etcetera, et che li fa di brindis, et che li dà delli mani sulle spalle, et altre cose sioce, che volesse contar qui tutte se ne farebbe una per gola de fatti suoi. Io per me non mi coroccio niente, anzi vorebbe che andassi a Roma, a far il simil uffitio che fa in altri luochi di fatti miei, et anche che fa delli altri che qui non vo nominare.

Sappiate, Signor Secretario, che dal giorno che nacque non ò mai mutato religione, ne sono per mutarla, insino alla morte tampoco. In casa delli Jesuiti ò tenuto in donzina [*cf. 'donzèna', Mantuan dialect for 'stare o tenere a dozzina'*⁸⁸] alle spese in compagnia d'altri gentilhuomini gli miei figliuoli; et essi Jesuiti praticano in casa mia domesticamente, et

Mantuani, S.C.M. Antiquarij, et civis Romani (Frankfurt a.M.: 1575). Palladio's edition came out in the same year: *I Commentari di C. Giulio Cesare, con le figure in rame de gli alloggiamenti, de'fatti d'arme, delle circonvallationi de' città, & di molte altre cose notabili descritte in essi* (Venice: 1575).

88 Cherubini, *Vocabolario Mantovano* 77: 'Vivere o tenere in una casa dove si dia il vitto mediante il pagamento d'un tanto al mese o simili'.

Mon Signor Nuncio et l'Ambassador di Spagna, et altri Signori che sarebbe troppo a volervi qui tutti nominare. La mia casa e casa per hogni sorte d'huomini, et quando fossi cognosciuto per altro, non verebbono tanti Signori a visitarmi; et di questo il mondo ne puol far giudicio perchè ultimamente morse mia moglie (Iddio habbi l'anima sua) io la feci interrare al modo nostro; et mi costò piu di 300 talleri il mortorio, et Sua Maestà Cesarea con la Maestà del Re vi mandorno accompagnarla gli gentilhuomini della Camera, et vi era un monte di signori. Et pel contrario, s'io fosse stato de altra religione, la mandavo fuori della terra alla loro chiesa; con x L. [= 10 lire] la sotteravo, si come fanno le gentildonne loro della loro religione. Adesso ò ottenuto lettere in Ratisbona, dov'io son stato, et in Praga, dove io son ora, lettere dalle due Maestà di favore a dui capitoli delli principali del Imperio, cioè dove son Veschovi, che'l primo canonicato che vacara sia concesso a Ottavio mio figliuolo; et ambi dua li potra godere stando 6 mesi per luogo, si come è costume fra loro. Et perchè in tali luoghi di essi capitoli tutti sonno nobili antichissimi, ò fatto venire da Mantua testimonianza della mia nobiltà di 400 anni, et il Ducha l'à sottoscritta, et Sua Maestà Cesarea me à fatto un privilegio con la confirmatione di essa mia nobiltà, cosa che per avanti non è più stata fatta; et apresso datomi a me at a tutti li mei dessendenti quelli honori che si puole veramente dar ad un gentilhuomo; com'io vengo a casa a Dio piacendo venne voglio mandar una coppia. Signor Secretario, questa cosa con la fabrica della mia casa et altre mie commodità fa che la invidia lavora sotto aqua, et se me potessero mordere, da dovero credete che lo fariano; ma la invidia del mio ben stare gli fa straparlare. Cotesta bestia una volta si partì da Vienna et per ch'egli è mio compare (che così non fosse) mi venne a piangere a torno che egli faceva un viaggio per Vinetia, et per esser il verno si moreva di freddo; et mi chiese una robba longa foderata; la prestò, la vesta era di panno berettino fodrata di dossi: ancora mella debbe restituire, et io di vergogna mai glielo chiese. Ma sappia che simil sorte di pratiche son da fugirle più che sia possibile; egli si crede ch'io nonne sappia nulla di queste sue papolate (che cossì li vo nominare) perchè lui pratica in casa mia et mi fa delli bonadies una mezza lega di discosto, et il simile fa carezze alli mei figliuoli; che la coscienza in hogni modo lo debbe rimordere, o debbe temere di qualche schiavina, come forse sella va troppo cercandola, la potrebe trovare. Altro non mi occorre, solum io con Ottavio mio figliuolo con tutto il core Vi salutiamo, et il Signor Iddio quella da mal guardi et sana mantenghi.

Di Praga li 28 di Settembre del 76.

Di Vostra Signoria efficionatissimo, per servirLa

Jacomo Strada

Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Antiquarius

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Journeys of Books, Voices of Tolerance: An Outline of Marco Antonio Flaminio's European Reception

Giovanni Ferroni

1 A European Issue*

During his lifetime (1498–1550), Marco Antonio Flaminio, the famous humanist follower of Valdés, made several journeys around Italy but, as far as we know, he never left the peninsula.¹ His books, however, travelled all over Europe. Beginning in 1537, almost all his philosophical, poetical and religious works were published and circulated mostly and, after 1567, exclusively North of the Alps, particularly in France, Switzerland, Flanders and Germany. This mere fact indicates that the history of Flaminio's influence is a matter of European significance rather than one limited to Italy.

In spite of that, this topic has been almost totally ignored by the scholars interested in Flaminio's work, and particularly by scholars in Italian studies. The only piece of research on Flaminio's reception outside Italy has been written by a prominent scholar of French literature, Enea Balmas, who studied the cultural context of the translation of the collection of sacred poems *De rebus divinis carmina* by the Dominican nun Anne De Marquets, that is one of the most significant moments of Flaminio's large success in France.² Balmas

* This chapter is the updated and revised version of an unpublished Italian talk given at the sixteenth congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (Vienna 2–7 August 2015). It is also part of a larger and still ongoing project dedicated to the bibliography of the sixteenth century editions of Flaminio and, hence, to the European reception of his work; research started in 2011 thanks to the generous support of a fellowship granted by the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel, which I would like to thank here again. Translations from Latin in collaboration with C. Zwierlein.

1 For Flaminio's biography see Maddison C., *Marcantonio Flaminio. Poet, Humanist and Reformer* (London: 1965) and Pastore A., *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milan: 1981).

2 I refer to Balmas E., "Anne de Marquets, Claude d'Espence e la fortuna del Flaminio in Francia", in his *Saggi e studi sul Rinascimento francese* (Padua: 1982) 135–162; on De Marquets' work and figure see also MacAskill A., "'C'est un amour ou Cupidon nouveau': Spiritual Passions and the Profane Persona in Anne de Marquets' *Les Divines Poesies de Marc Antoine*

demonstrates that an extra-Italian point of view on Flaminio and on his writings is essential. This is not only in order to assess his role and his historic value for Italian literature and spirituality between the third and the fifth decades of the sixteenth century – that is the brief period during which it seemed possible to find an Italian and non-schismatic way for the spiritual and ecclesiastical reform of the Roman church – but also to better hear the echoes of the authors and texts of the Italian Reformation beyond the Alps.

Flaminio had a pivotal role in religious dissent between 1538 and 1550 in Italy. After Juan de Valdés' death in Naples, in August 1541, he was considered as the real heir to the Spanish theologian and the administrator of his legacy, keeping some manuscripts of his master, translating and publishing some of his writings into Italian, and distinguishing himself as the most authoritative and faithful continuator of Valdés' thought.³ Thanks to his theological and literary commitment to the cause of religious and, particularly, spiritual reform, Flaminio was able to deal with two prejudices of his transalpine readers deriving from his cultural origin and involving the relation between culture, religion and society. The former, which could be defined as 'Erasmian', concerned the paganism affecting Italian humanists and therefore the putative impiety and wickedness of their works; the latter, which one could label as 'Calvinist', consisted instead in the accusation of 'nicodemism', levelled against those reformed Christians who were still living in Catholic lands by dissimulating their real faith for earthly purposes, that is in order to maintain their privileges or wealth.

Flaminio (1568/69)", *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 38, 3 (2015) 61–81. The *De rebus divinis carmina* are a collection of twenty spiritual poems dedicated to the French princess Marguerite de Valois (daughter of Francis I) and published for the first time in Paris by the royal printer Charles Estienne in 1550. It is Flaminio's last collection and represents his poetical and religious legacy. On this work see the introductory paper of Ferroni G., "Liber ultimus". Note sui *De rebus divinis carmina* di Marco Antonio Flaminio", in Secchi Tarugi L. (ed), *Roma pagana e Roma cristiana nel Rinascimento*, (Florence: 2014) 301–310. For closer analyses of some poems and of the collection as whole see Ferroni G., "Siculis et Tarentinis". Teologia, esegesi e poetica nei *De rebus divinis carmina* di Flaminio", *Bollettino di Studi Valdesi*, 218 (2016) 33–70 and Ferroni G., "Rilievi sulla struttura dei *De rebus divinis carmina* di Marcantonio Flaminio", in Geri L. – Grimaldi M. (eds.), *La lirica in Italia dalla Origini al Rinascimento*, special issue of *Studi (e testi) italiani* 38, 2 (2016) 147–167 (with references to other secondary literature).

3 By this summary I am strongly abbreviating the results of Firpo's classical work Firpo M., *Tra alumbados e 'spirituali'. Studi su Juan de Valdés e il valdesianesimo* (Florence: 1990) and *Dal sacco di Roma all'Inquisizione: studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma Italiana* (Alessandria: 1998). For a more detailed, albeit very concise, account see Ferroni, "Siculis et Tarentinis" 36–39.

In this way Flaminio with his devotional poetry became one of the most representative voices of the Italian Reformation and his work – the fruit of the literary and spiritual experience of the High and Late Italian Renaissance⁴ – became part, thanks to the European printing presses, of early Baroque culture.

To set out some aspects of Flaminio's legacy and of his European reception, I will dedicate the first part of this paper to outline his editorial career outside Italy until 1550⁵ whilst in the second part I will focus on the later contribution given to it by German publishers and authors, giving particular attention to Camerarius' *De Flaminio narrationes* – a sort of critical biographical introduction of the Italian poet and reformer to a German audience – which is, as set out in part three, in my opinion, one of the most significant aspects of Flaminio's European reception. Preceded by a discussion of the late sixteenth century publications of his writings, the fourth part is devoted to some concluding remarks about Flaminio's reception in Germany and his significance as man of letters and faith.

2 Publishing Flaminio's Works (1536–1576)

It was not difficult for a non-Italian but quite cultivated reader to understand Flaminio's writings. Despite his overt admiration for celebrated Italian writers such as Pietro Bembo or Baldassarre Castiglione, and his long-lasting interest in vernacular grammar and literature,⁶ he wrote in Latin all his verses and

4 In addition to Maddison's and Pastore's monographs cited above (note 1), an account of Flaminio's literary and spiritual itinerary is provided in Ferroni G., *Dulces lusos. Lirica pastorale e libri di poesia nel Cinquecento*, Manierismo e Barocco 16 (Alessandria: 2012) 225–270 and subsequently repeated in his “A Farewell to Arcadia. Marcantonio Flaminio from Poetry to Faith”, in Wågghäll Nivre E. (ed.), *Allusions and Reflections. Greek and Roman Mythology in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: 2015) 309–324. More focused on Flaminio's youth is Ferroni G., “‘La persona dell'humanista'. Immagini della giovinezza di Marcantonio Flaminio”, in Motta U. – Vagni G. (eds.), *Lirica in Italia 1498–1530. Esperienze ecdotiche e profili storiografici*, Biblioteca di studi e testi italiani 2 (Bologna: 2017) 197–248.

5 A partial bibliography of Flaminio's can be found in De Bujanda J.M. (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*. VIII. *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564* (Sherbrooke: 1990) 292–296 and in Ferroni, “Siculis et Tarentinis” 38–41. I do not take into account the editions of the *Beneficio di Cristo crocifisso* (and its various translations) because of their anonymous publication.

6 For Flaminio's interest in vernacular language and literature see Trovato P., “Marcantonio Flaminio grammatico del volgare. Dal *Compendio alle Prose ridotte a metodo*”, in Pastore A. – Toffoli A. (eds.), *Marcantonio Flaminio nel 5° centenario della nascita* (Vittorio Veneto: 2001) 137–148; Comiati G., “Receiving Petrarch and Petrarchists' Poetry in Marcantonio Flaminio's

almost all his prose works conceived for publication. Furthermore Flaminio's Latin style was refined, but easily understandable. Contemporaries remarked on its purity and lucidity as well as, especially in poetry, how his works were easily accessible and attractive for readers. Thanks to his style and to his mastery of the classics, Flaminio was able not only to compose his own poetry, but also to translate or rather re-write two masterpieces of western philosophy and religious poetry such as Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and the Book of Psalms, both altered and made less clear by their earlier Latin translators' 'barbarisms'.

Indeed at the beginning, Flaminio, who debuted in Italy at a very young age as a poet,⁷ was probably known by the European audience as a translator and master of rewording. His first work published on the northern side of the Alps was the *Paraphrasis in duodecimum Aristotelis librum de prima philosophia*, that is the re-writing of the last book of Aristotle's *Metaphisica* first appeared in Venice in 1536.⁸ The work was published by the Basel printer Robert Winter in a volume that also included the *Aristotelis De Anima epitome*, composed by the German professor Johannes Velcurio. Or, to be more precise, the reverse is true: the printer Johannes Oporinus stated in the dedicatory epistle to Guillaume du Bellay that he had decided to publish Flaminio's *Paraphrasis*

Carmina", in Schaffenrath F. – Winkler A. (eds.), *The Influence of Vernacular Discourses on Neo-Latin Literature* (Leiden-Boston: forthcoming) and Ferroni, "La persona dell'humanista" 229–230, 233–238.

7 See Flaminio Marcantonio, *Carminum libellus. Ecloga Tyrsis* (Fano, Girolamo Soncino: 1515) and Flaminio Marcantonio, *Carmina* (Venice, Giovanni Nicolini da Sabbio: 1529). The publication of Flaminio's other works at that time – that is a biography of the Blessed Maurice of Hungary in Alberti Leandro, *De viribus illustribus Ordinis praedicatorum* (Bologna, Girolamo Benedetti: 1517) and the *Compendio di la volgare grammatica* (Bologna, Girolamo Benedetti: 1521) – was not a product of his own initiative. On those editions see: Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio* and Ferroni, "La persona dell'humanista"; for a thorough examination of Flaminio's early poetry see Comiati, "Receiving Petrarch" and Comiati G., "The Reception of Horace's *Odes* in the first book of Marcantonio Flaminio's *Carmina*", in Harrison S. – Tomè P. (eds.), *Making and Rethinking Renaissance between Greek and Latin in 15th- and 16th-century Europe* special issue of *Trends in Classics* 54, 2 (forthcoming, 2018).

8 Flaminio Marcantonio, *Paraphrasis in duodecimum Aristotelis librum de prima philosophia* (Venice, Giovanni Tacuino: 1536). The work, to my knowledge, was republished three times afterwards: twice in Basel (Balthasar Lasius and Thomas Platter for Robert Winter: 1537; in Aristotle's *opera omnia* published by Johann Herwagen jr.: 1563) and one in Paris (Nicolas Leriche: 1547). For the Paduan philosophical context of the *Paraphrasis*, see Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio* 56–65.

for reaching an adequate number of pages for an in-quarto volume: Velcurio's *Epitome* alone would have been too short for that purpose.⁹

However, Winter's interest in Flaminio's work was not accidental. In 1540, he was the first European printer to republish the *Paraphrasis in duo et triginta Psalmos* – a prose synopsis of 32 psalms, composed and introduced by Flaminio in Verona since 1533 but first published in Venice in 1538.¹⁰ Winter's octavo edition, which also offered the reader some of St. John Chrysostom's writings translated into Latin by Sebastian Castellio, was reprinted as a pocket edition, by the French printer Pierre Gaultier in 1545.¹¹

By that time Paris had become the main reprinting centre of Flaminio's works, previously published in Venice. In 1545 Manuzio had printed, in the typical octavo format, the *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio*. This Psalm commentary dedicated to the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, which became one of Flaminio's most widespread works, was immediately republished by the Parisian printers Jean Barbé and Jacques Gazeau, as well as by Jan van der Loe (Antwerp: 1547), who produced the first Flaminio edition in Flanders.¹² The same happened in 1546 when Vincenzo Valgrisi published Flaminio's third work on the Psalms, the *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta*,¹³ which was reprinted in the same year by Robert Estienne.

- 9 'Postremo, huic de Anima portioni, quia paulo quam pro iusto uolumine uidebatur succintior, adiecimus et M. Flaminij in XII. de Prima Philosophia Aristotelis librum Paraphrasim: docta quidem illam imprimis, ac Romanae eloquentiae uirtutibus apprimè exornatam, tum uero a praesenti argumento non alienam' (In philosophiae naturalis partem omnium praestantissimam, hoc est, Aristotelis de Anima Libros, Epitome longe doctissima, per D. Welcurionem, [...] item M. Antonii Flaminii in XII Aristotelis de Prima Philosophia librum eruditissima Paraphrasis [Basel, Robert Winter: 1537], fol A4r).
- 10 Flaminio Marcantonio, *Paraphrasis in duo et triginta Psalmos* (Venice, Giovanni Padovano: 1538). The paraphrased psalms are 1–27, 30, 36, 39, and 41–42. On the broad cultural context in which Flaminio composed his first Psalm-paraphrase see Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio* 51–56 and 69–89.
- 11 Flaminio Marcantonio, *In Psalmos aliquot paraphrasis* – Chrysostom John, *De patientia et consumatione huius seculi, et de secundo adventu domini, deque aeternis iustorum gaudio, et malurum poenis, de silentio et aliis sermo* (Basel, Robert Winter: 1540; Paris, Pierre Gaultier: 1545).
- 12 Flaminio Marcantonio, *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio* (Venice, Paolo Manuzio: 1545). On the importance of this book for Flaminio's religious thought and poetry see Ferroni, "Siculis et Tarentinis" 41–48 and 55–58. Unlike the Manuzio edition, the Parisian one seems to be quite rare. I know only four copies of it held in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional de España), Naples (Biblioteca dell'Istituto per gli studi storici), Rome (Biblioteca Casanatense) and Yale (Beinecke Library).
- 13 Flaminio Marcantonio, *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta* (Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi: 1546). Flaminio rewrote the following psalms into Horatian metre: 1, 3, 6, 9, 12–13,

But, after these kinds of “first editions”, the Parisian printers produced a new publication, an amalgam of Flaminio's Psalm exegesis and of his two summaries. Printed in a pocket format, these thick books offered help, to the pious and learned reader, in understanding a text bristling with linguistic problems and difficulties of interpretation in addition to providing, for some psalms, refined new prose and/or verse compositions.¹⁴ Given the high number of editions and their diffusion not only in France but also in Italy, Germany, Spain, as well as in east Europe, this book product seems to have been popular among contemporary readers. So, according to the data available, 16 “combined editions” of Flaminio's works on the Psalms were published in Paris between 1546 and 1551,¹⁵ while seven others were produced in Lyon between 1548 and 1576.¹⁶ These editions were also published three times outside France, namely in Switzerland (Basel, Jakob Kündig: 1558), Flanders (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin: 1558) and Italy, where the Paolo Manuzio's elegant octavo (Venice: 1564) was, probably, the last Flaminian edition in Italy.¹⁷

The *Brevis explanatio*, as we have seen, and the *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos*, also circulated in single volumes or together with texts both of Flaminio and of other authors. In particular, the verse *Paraphrasis* was repeatedly republished in anthologies of poetry – some of them prepared, directly or

15, 23, 30, 42, 100, 113–114, 120–134, 137, 144. A modern study, with a commentary, of this work is provided by Bottai M., “La *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta* di Marcantonio Flaminio: un esempio di poesia religiosa del XVI secolo”, *Rinascimento* 40 (2000) 157–265. An attempt to study the relation between Flaminio's *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio* and *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta* is offered by Nassichuk J., “Du commentaire à la paraphrase poétique chez Marcantonio Flaminio”, *Poétique de la philologie* special issue of *Fabula-LhT* 5 (2008) (<http://www.fabula.org/lht/5/nassichuk.html>).

- 14 On the title page of such a volume, one typically reads the following description: ‘M. Antonii Flaminii in librum psalmorum brevis explanatio ad Alexandrum Farnesium Cardinalem amplissimum. Adiectae sunt in studiosorum usum eiusdem authoris in Psalmos aliquot, suo quaeque ordine et loco, paraphrases. Item adiectae sunt in triginta Psalmos Paraphrases, carmine ab eodem conscriptae, et suo loco positae’.
- 15 The sixteen editions can be listed by printer: Jacques Du Puys (1546, 1547, 1550); Pierre Gaultier (1547, 1550, 1551); Jean Roigny (1546, 1550); Jean Rouelle (1546, 1547); Oudin Petit (1547, 1549); Nicolas Du Chemin (1546); Gaillot Du Pré (1547); Guillaume Le Bret (1550); Poncet Le Preux (1550).
- 16 The Lyonese editions (published in 1548, 1552, 1553, 1557, 1561, 1569 and 1576) were all printed in sixteens, like the Parisian ones, by several typographers for Guillaume Rouillé.
- 17 The Italian publication of Flaminio's work was obstructed by ecclesiastical censorship. On its history see De Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits*, and Fragnito G., *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura, 1471–1605* (Bologna: 1997).

indirectly, by Flaminio himself,¹⁸ testifying to his reputation as a poet and the appreciation of the European readers for his religious poetry.

So, his *Paraphrasis* was very quickly included in the anthology of the modern Christian poets printed by Oporinus between 1547 and 1549. Since Flaminio did not paraphrase the entire Psalms, his poems were mixed with those of Castellio, written in previous years.¹⁹ It is worth pausing a little over this volume in which are collected works of Sannazaro, Vida, Paleario and Volusenus. Meant for young people, the anthology represented an explicit attempt to go beyond faith, political and military boundaries caused by Reformation, (re)proposing to a transalpine audience some of the best religious poems produced both by catholic and reformed humanists.²⁰ The introductory epistle by Orgetorix Spinther to Oporinus can not be celebrated for its literary elegance, however it is noteworthy exactly because it tells us the making of the book and casts light on its “ideology”. According to Sphinter the original idea of publishing such an anthology arose from conversations with the poet, philosopher, and humanist Jacopo Sadoletto just before his death (1547).²¹ First, he

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- 18 The first two editions of the influential *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi: 1548 and Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino: 1549) were probably conceived by Flaminio (on this editions see Ferroni, “La persona dell’humanista” 199–209); the anthology was republished also in 1552 (Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino) and in 1558 (Venice, Girolamo Giglio). The publication of Flaminio’s *Carminum libri duo. Eiusdem Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos versibus scripta* (Lyon, Sebastian Greif: 1548) was officially arranged by his cousin Cesare alone against the poet’s will, but a tacit consent of the latter is highly probable (see Ferroni, *Dulces lusus* 267–270).
- 19 For the composition of Castellio’s psalms cf. the dedicatory epistle of his *Psalterium, reliquaque sacrarum literarum carmina et preces, cum argumentis, et brevi difficiliorum locorum declaratione* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1547) 11. This work, together with the Psalm verse paraphrases of Castellio himself and Flaminio, was republished in 1555 (Antwerp, Gerard Speelmans).
- 20 *Pii, graves, atque elegantes poetae aliquot, nunc primum ad piae iuventutis et scholarum utilitatem coniuncti* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1547–1549).
- 21 In this context can be useful to remember that Sadoletto (from 1517 bishop of Carpentras and cardinal from 1536), besides treatises, several discourses and letters to Germans and Swiss about religious issues, published three theological works: the *interpretationes* of the Psalms 50 (Rome, Francesco Minizio Calvo: 1525; Hagenau, Johann Setzer: 1526; Lyon, Sebastian Greif: 1528 and 1533; Basel, Johann Froben: 1530; Verona, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio (?): 1532) and of the Psalm 93 (Lyon, Sebastian Greif: 1530, 1534 and 1537) and the commentary to Paul’s epistle to Romans (Lyon, Sebastian Greif: 1535, 1536, 1544; Venice, Melchiorre Sessa: 1536). On Sadoletto’s paraphrases see Gersigora G., *Ein humanistischer Psalmenexeget des 16. Jahrhunderts: Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547). Paradigmatische Studien zur Hermeneutik und Psalmenexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1997). On

complained to his friend about the wars, which would trouble those who devoted themselves to the *studia bonarum litterarum*. Then,

when we [i.e. Spinther and Sadoletto] entered into our conversation, as it is the case almost every day among people of good character, in the matter of religion, the good old man started lamenting through tears that, because of this conflict, brilliant men who ought to be united by how close their studies are, were still completely separated. "Because of this, we not only lack the fruit of everyday contact and companionship but also our writings. What could travel from the Swiss or the Germans to Italy which would not attract the highest degree of suspicion? What from the Italians [sc. could travel] to the Germans and the Swiss, which would not immediately find its detractors?" This is why, he said, even the most famous poets are far less celebrated among us. I brought forward – to apologize for this situation – that our men, who like to entertain themselves with theology, could not tolerate to have a book containing Christian and Pagan texts at the same time. Because what concord is there between Christ and Belial? What is more irksome to a Christian man than, when he settles himself to read and to meditate upon sublime matters, he falls upon useless and playful texts, often even obscenities? [...] He said "you have reminded me that some years ago I had asked the printers by a letter to put [sc. selected works] of all the most learned and distinguished poets, who were of one and the same sanctity and piety, in a decent form together. This probably would be very welcome to all those who are assiduous to Christian doctrine." [...] Sadoletto did not take us [i.e. Swiss and northern Latinists] for idiots or stupid people but conceded to our men erudition and even some eloquence, but he maintained that the Italians were most diligent at imitation, that they have copied and represented the image of antiquity in new things. He said to see in Actius's poems [i.e. Sannazaro] the quickness of the activity of the soul; with Aonius the mastering of metrics; in Vida, diligence [...] in Flaminius, a marvellous piety. And if those ornaments – poems about fishing and aphorisms left out – were united in one volume, a book would be created that all honest men would always have at hand.

Martin Bucer's interest in and appreciation for Sadoletto's commentary to Paul's epistle see Roussel B., "Martin Bucer et Jacques Sadolet: la Concorde possible (automne 1535)?", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 122 (1976) 507–524.

cum [...] in sermonem incidissemus [i.e. Spinther and Sadoletto], qui bonis est fere cotidianus, de religione, bonus senex collacrimavit, quod dissensionis huiusce causa, praeclara hominum ingenia, quae similitudine studiorum coniungi debuissent, maxime disiungerentur. “Ita ut fructu non modo consuetudinis careamus, sed etiam scriptionum. Quid enim ab Helvetiis, aut Germanis, ire in Italiam potest, quod non sit plenissimum suspicionis? Quid ab Italis ad Germanos et Helvetios, quod non habeat obtrectatores paratos?” Ea re, dicebat, poëtas nobilissimos quosdam, minus apud nostros celebrari. Ego, ut excusarem, causabar, quod nostri homines, cum theologicis maxime delectentur, non possint ferre uno eodemque volumine contineri Christiana et Ethnica. τίς γὰρ συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαλ;²² Quid molestius homini Christiano quam, ubi se ad res magnas legendas et meditandas converterit, incidere in lusus et nugas, saepe etiam numero obscoenas? [...] “Redegisti – inquit ille – mihi in memoriam, quod superioribus annis a typographis per epistolam petebam, ut doctissimorum et praestantissimorum poëtarum, qui una eademque sanctitaque versati sunt, delectu habito, coniungerent: fore id studiosis doctrinae Christianae vel gratissimum”. [...] neque nos, ut quidem truncos, aut stipites putabat [i.e. Sadoletto], sed nostris hominibus eruditionem, nonnunquam etiam eloquentiam concedebat;²³ Italos vero affirmabat imitationis studiosissimos, novis in rebus effinxisse, atque expressisse imaginem antiquitatis. In Actio [i.e. Sannazaro], motus animi celeres dicebat se videre; in Aonio, numerorum omnium observantiam; in Vida, diligentiam, [...]; in Flaminio, mirificam pietatem. Qua ornamenta, si omissis Piscatoriis et Epigrammatis, uno volumine comprehendantur, esse natum libellum, quem boni semper habeant in manibus.²⁴

Sadoletto's lamentations relate not only to the downfall of the *respublica christiana* but also, and perhaps even more, to its consequences, that is, in the first place, the collapse of the *respublica literarum*, the spiritual and international community of *boni et literati homines*. At the same time, Spinther, by means of a sequence of contrasts (theologians vs poets; Christian vs Pagan issues; Christ vs Belial; sublime vs playful and useless topics; obscenity vs purity) underlines

22 The quotation is from Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians (6:15): 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? [κῆρ]'

23 For Sadoletto's appreciation of German humanists see his beautiful Latin letter included in Camerarius Joachim, *De Philippi Melanchthoni ortu, totius vitae curriculo et morte* (Leipzig, Ernst Vögelin: 1566) 172–175.

24 *Pii, graves, atque elegantes poetae aliquot* fols. a2r–a3r.

the fundamental cultural difference between Italian and German/Swiss humanists²⁵ – a gap drastically aggravated by the Reformation, but dating back to the fifteenth century.²⁶ Sadoletto, in his reply, tried once again to provide a common ground for discussion, emphasising the literary and religious harmony between the best European poets ('doctissimi et praestantissimi poëtae qui una eademque sanctitaeque versati sunt'). Furthermore, he also suggested that this unity would have a practical outcome, by showing that Italian poets were able to equal the stylistic perfection of the ancients with Christian subject matter, so it would therefore be highly advisable to combine their works in a book which would be useful 'to all those who are assiduous to Christian doctrine [*studiosis doctrinae Christianae*]' as a handbook. Oporinus' anthology was exactly that kind of book, but it was not the only one. Between the forties and the fifties, the importance of religious poetry was increasing because of its importance in the education of young people.

On the other hand, in 1556 the young Henri Estienne published an ambitious collection of psalms translated or summarised by modern poets, namely George Buchanan, Jean Salmon Macrin, Eobanus Hessus, Giovita Rapicio and Flaminio.²⁷ The book was meant for an audience of learned men. Estienne's letter to Buchanan, which is placed before the summaries, was written in

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- 25 The same point of view was expressed in the printer's introductory epistle of the anthology *Doctissimorum nostra aetate Italorum epigrammata* (Paris, Nicolas Le Riche: 1548–1549) fol. iv. The Italian epigrams were selected 'ne quem in eis lascivia aut foeda spurcities locum haberet'. The volume, sponsored by Jean de Gagny, chancellor of the University of Paris and an admirer of Flaminio, also included two of Flaminio's books of epigrams, but de Gagny did not also publish the 'hymnos Davidicos' – that is the *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos* – 'tum quod iam pridem seorsim sunt editi, tum ne sacra prophani misceret'. Such a choice explicitly differentiated the anthology from the Lyonesse one published in 1548 (see footnote 18).
- 26 See, e.g., the case of Girolamo Balbi studied by Mussini C., "Un esempio di poesia erotica nell'umanesimo latino: gli epigrammi di Girolamo Balbi", in Boillet É. – Lastraioli C. (eds.), *Extravagances amoureuses: l'amour au-delà de la norme à la Renaissance / Stravaganze amorose: l'amore oltre la norma nel Rinascimento*, Le savoir de Mantice 19 (Paris: 2010) 159–180.
- 27 *Davidis psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi a quatuor illustribus poetis: quos quatuor regiones, Gallia, Italia, Germania, Scotia, genuerunt. In gratiam studiosorum poetices inter se commissi ab Henrico Stephano: cujus etiam nonnulli psalmi Graeci cum aliis Graecis itidem comparati in calce libri habentur* (Geneva, Henri II Estienne: 1556). The anthologised Psalms were also presented in Sante Pagnini's Latin translation. Greek psalms were summarised by Paulus Dolscius and Estienne himself. On this edition see Kecskeméti J. – Boudou B. – Cazes H. (eds.), *La France des Humanistes. Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*, *Europa humanistica* 2 (Turnhout: 2003) n. 5.

order to assert the superiority of the Scottish poet over his French, German and Italian contemporaries as well as to argue for the literary value of biblical poetry. So, discussing those topics, he gives also an account of the reception of Flaminio's religious poems in Italy and abroad:

If someone objected that the nature of Holy Scripture would disallow any adornment, I would respond now in the same way that I had four years ago in Rome to an Italian. When the conversation touched upon the poems of Flaminio, I praised the work and efforts that he had invested into the translation of the psalms, and then he said – in Italian but in the following way – “Oh, no indeed, in this he [e.g. Flaminio] has done wrong! Since he has committed himself to these holy texts, his lyrics deteriorated much from their usual elegance and charm. Because, as those [sc. holy verses] disdain every ‘cream of beauty’, I do not know how he gave up those ornaments that he used to employ so much, that, if sacred works were to be set aside again and if he would try to focus again on profane poetry, Flaminio would not be recognized in Flaminio, like someone who has degenerated completely from his former state of being.” So I responded: “If you deny that for the translation of holy texts there is no place for womanish or rather, bewitching ornaments, I agree as there is nothing more opposite to them than this. But if you speak about some vigorous form of ornament full of majesty, I think that you are completely wrong, because this is the ornament they ask for. Therefore I say that just the contrary is true, that Flaminio, before he moved to the translation of the psalms, had already weakened and annoyed his Muse by the overly effeminate allurements of amatory lyric, and that, when he had to elevate himself, for example, to a more important subject, he had no access to the sublime genre of poetry.” This is what I said at that time about Flaminio, oh my Buchanan, to which I add what follows now at present: if he had previously exerted his talents in composing tragedies or translating them from the Greek (a labour by which you some time ago acquired a high reputation), perhaps it might not have happened, as it has now, that you have obtained a victory so easy and almost without contest. But such as Flaminio is, I frankly confess that, if I except Buchanan, I do not find another with whom I can compare. My countryman Salmonius (for I am friend to my country, but a greater friend to truth) is not only much inferior to Flaminio in purity of language, but likewise yields to him in elegance of versification: and as his verses are less polished, so his style is much more prosaic.

siquis obiiciat, literas sacras eiusmodi esse quae ornatum non admittant, idem ego quod abhinc quadriennium Romae homini Italo respondi, nunc quoque respondebo. Cum enim orto de Flaminii versibus sermone, eius ego laborem atque operam quam in transferendis psalmis posuisset, laudarem: “Imo”, inquit ille (verbis quidem Italicis, sed in hunc sensum), “o factum male! Ex quo enim istis sacris se addixit, multum illius carmini de solita elegantia et lepore decessit. Nam cum omne *μυροθήκιον*²⁸ respiciant illa, nescio quomodo ita descendit ab illis quibus antea uti solebat ornamentis, ut, cum sacris omissis profana repetere vellet, in Flaminio Flaminus non agnosceretur utopote qui a seipso prorsus degenerasset”. Tunc ego: “Si, inquam, in trasferendis sacris, muliebri cuidam vel potius meretricio ornatui locum esse negas, tibi assentior (nihil enim magis ab illis alienum); sin virilem quendam ornatum et maiestatis plenum mihi narras, toto te, quod aiunt, caelo errare existimo: hunc enim illa ornatum postulant. Ideoque ego contra, male factum dico quod Flaminus, antequam ad psalmorum interpretationem venisset, iam illis amatoriae poseos lenociniis nimium effoeminatis Musam suam ita fregisset et enervasset, ut, cum altius attollere se deberet, videlicet in gravi argumento, ad sublime carminis genus aditus ei non pateret”. Haec ego tum de Flaminio, mi Buchanan, quibus haec addo in praesentia: si ille se antea in componendis aut vertendis de Graeco tragoediis (quo ex labore magnum tibi iampridem nomen quaesitum est) multum diuque exercuisset, non idem tibi fortasse quod nunc contingeret, ut tu victoriam adeo facile et propemodum sine pulvere reportares. Sed qualis qualis est Flaminus, hoc ego ingenue fateor, cum a Buchanano discessi, me, quem illi comparerem, non reperire. Nam Salmonius noster (amica enim patria, sed amica magis veritas) Flaminio non solum sermonis puritate longe est inferior, sed versus etiam elegantia ei cedit: et ut minus cultum, quam ille, versum facit, ita multo magis humi serpit.²⁹

Estienne's discussion with the unknown Italian man, which dates back to 1552, reveals the distance between the taste of the two humanists who were also representatives of two different confessional and, hence, literary cultures. This is

28 Diminutive of *μυροθήκη* 'box of unguent' (Liddel-Scott, s.v., 1155).

29 *Davidis psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi* 4. Estienne's letter to Buchanan was republished, with a partial English translation – which I quoted above –, in Irving D., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, W. Blackwood: 1817²) 102–105 and Appendix VII, 390–393.

why their discussion is similar to that between Sadoletto and Spinther, but their complete disagreement points out that it was no more possible to believe, like for the Venetian cardinal, in agreement between different poets on the basis of the same piety. Furthermore we have to consider that, differently from Spinther and Oporinus, for Estienne the selected poets are not all 'doctissimi et praestantissimi': his anthology is an *engagé* volume and it proposes a hierarchy. So, in Estienne's opinion, Flaminio's poetry, despite his mastery of Latin style and language was too sweet and mawkish for the "sublime genus" of biblical poetry. In other words, Flaminio – as an Italian poet that was a product of a crippled literary culture well known for its penchant for 'amatoria' and lustfulness –³⁰ was unfit to properly express the vigorous greatness of an inspired and divine poetry. On the other hand this passage from Estienne's letter provides reasons for many Flaminio's statements about the pungaciousness of the Roman opponents to his religious poetry; they considered it insufficiently charming and elegant for a taste formed on classical models of antiquity and accustomed to appreciate their 'ornatus'.³¹ This is another, even if negative, confirmation of the peculiarity of Flaminio's psalm summaries, in which he tried to simplify and clarify every complexity or obscurity of the original text.

Too pleasingly Italian for a French Calvinist, and too ascetic for an Italian man of letters, Flaminio seems have acted like a bridge between the Reformed north Europe and the southern cradle of humanism; he seems to be one of the few Italians whose writings could not find 'immediately detractors' in reformed lands. Such a position was strengthened by the publication of the *De rebus divinis carmina*,³² a successful attempt to bring together classical language, patristic genre and metrics, reformed theology and spirituality in order to create a new form of Christian poetry, overtly meant for the spiritual community of the real Christians, that is for the Church of the elects.

30 Estienne's charge against Flaminio does not seem correct because he did not write mere erotic poems (with partial exception of Flaminio, *Carminum libellus*). Therefore, it seems likely that Estienne, in disapproving Flaminio's love poetry, was making reference to his pastoral collections and particularly to the 'Hyella cycle' first published in the Lyonese anthology and in the *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (1548). On this collection see Ferroni, *Dulces lusus* 248–262.

31 See the statements contained in the dedicatory letters of Flaminio, *Paraphrasis in duo et triginta psalmos* and *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos versibus scripta*. Also see other explicit defences of literary value of the Psalms in Flaminio, *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio*. On this topic see also the *carmen* to Piero Carnesecchi which refers to the appreciation of *De rebus divinis carmina* by Marguerite of Valois in Flaminio Marcantonio, *Carmina* (Torino: 1993) 310, VI, 35.

32 See note 2.

3 Flaminio and the Melanchthonians: Fabricius and Camerarius

First published posthumously in Paris, the small but exquisite work was immediately re-printed in Italy, in Flanders and, chiefly, in Basel, that is in the city that was the cultural gateway to the German-speaking world.³³ We have already seen that Flaminio's works had been published by the Basel printers since 1537, but the Oporinus edition of the *De rebus divinis carmina* was a key episode because of the explicit link with Lutheran humanists. Flaminio's collection was placed after three books of spiritual odes written by the German and reformed poet Georg Fabricius.³⁴ He was at that time headmaster of the school of Sankt Afra in Meißen, but he had been a student of Melanchthon and he knew Italian culture well because he had made a long journey to Italy between 1539 and 1543, studying in Padua and Bologna. In his preface, Fabricius stated the necessity of celebrating God in the light of Lutheran doctrine and outlined the civic and religious role of the poet in the restored *respublica Christiana*:

In our age, as the heavenly doctrine is mostly reborn and better discipline is restored and those great shadows have been broken up by the splendor of that brightest light, it is the right and the proper duty of a good man to thank God's name and to celebrate, with all diligence, God's clemency by voice, prayer and writings. It is right that everyone, but first of all the men of letters, remember such an important work. It is necessary to make sure that they do not abuse their leisure or their talents either to the disdain of God or the damage of other men, whom they, thanks to their authority,

33 After the first edition of the *De rebus divinis carmina* was reprinted in Paris – by Jean Bonhomme (1551), it was published by Charles Estienne (1552) and Nicolas Chesneau (1568 and 1569, together with De Marquets' translation), in Venice (Luca Antonio Giunta: 1552), in Florence (Lorenzo Torrentino: 1552), in Antwerp (Plantin: 1558) and in Basel (Fabricius Georg *Odorum libri tres. Ad Deum omnipotentem* [Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1552]).

34 On Fabricius' biography see Schönebaum H., "Fabricius, Georg" *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959) 734–735 [also accessible online: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118531735.html#ndbcontent>]. On his work see Schäfer E., *Deutscher Horaz: Conrad Celtis – Georg Fabricius – Paul Melissus & Jacob Balde* (Wiesbaden: 1976); Ludwig W., "Christliche Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts: Die *Poemata sacra* des Georg Fabricius", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 4 (2001) 273–350; Ludwig W., "Georg Fabricius, der zweite Rektor der Fürstenschule St. Afra in Meißen", in *Sichtweisen. Festschrift anlässlich der Neugründung des Landesgymnasiums Sankt Afra zu Meißen* (Meißen: 2001) 196–219.

could keep from false opinions. As well, they ought stimulate them to greater love of virtue. The poet has to be a decent and wise man whose excellent virtues are visible in emending the corrupt morals of the citizens. But no one can correct the morals of men if he does not put forward the true and certain opinions about God and the salvation of the souls. and if he does not point out all kinds of honest activities and a laudable way of life, someone who also teaches the approved divine service, the holy invocation – not a superstitious or feigned or profit-seeking one.

Nostra [...] aetate, cum coelestis doctrina quasi renata sit et renovata melior disciplina et magnae illae tenebrae lucis clarissimae splendore discussae, rectum et viro bono dignum officium est [...] nomini divino gratias agere et omni studio clementiam Dei voce, oratione, literis celebrare [...]. Convenit tanti operis memoriam retinere omnes, sed in primis literatos: cavendumque ne ii ocio aut ingeniis vel in Dei contemptum, vel in aliorum hominum perniciem abutantur, quos et avocare a pravis opinionibus poterant, et ad maiorem virtutis amorem impellere pro sua auctoritate debebant. [...] Poetam commodum quendam et sapientem virum esse vult, eiusque virtutes praestantissimas lucere in emendandis civium moribus corruptis. Mores autem hominum nemo emendat nisi veras certasque de Deo et de salute animorum sententias afferat, et omne genus honestarum actionum et vitae laudabilis demonstret: cultum quoque Deo probatum et invocationem sanctam, non superstitiosam, non adumbratam, non quaestuosam instituat.³⁵

Fabricius' statements were not at all isolated but they depend on his master's thought. According to Melanchthon, and to his disciples, poetry, and all genres of literary studies, must contribute to God's glory and to spread true devotion.³⁶ Flaminio's work therefore fit perfectly within such an agenda. This is why, as we have already seen about the anthology edited by Spinther, Flaminio's spiritual poetry was included in standard schoolbooks, like the widespread

35 Fabricius, *Odorum libri tres* a5r-a5v.

36 Cf. Ludwig W., "Musenkult und Gottesdienst – Evangelischer Humanismus der Reformationszeit", in Ludwig W. (ed.), *Die Musen im Reformationszeitalter*, Schriften der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt 1 (Leipzig: 2001) 9–51: "Musenkult und Gottesdienst sind so bei den evangelischen Humanisten des Melanchthonkreises keine Alternative sondern eine Einheit" (50). On Flaminio's influence on German humanism see also Spitz L.W., "The course of German Humanism", in Oberman H.A. (ed.), *Itinerarium Italicum. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller* (Leiden – Boston: 1975) 371–436, here 423.

Enchiridion pietatis puerilis or the *Novae scholae christianae*.³⁷ Oporinus had first printed both books, and Fabricius himself had promoted the arrangement of the latter.³⁸ On the other hand, when in 1559 Adam Sieber – the editor of the *Enchiridion pietatis puerilis* – wrote to Melanchthon in order to ask for a prefatory letter for his verse translation of the Psalter (published by Oporinus in 1562), made mention of Flaminio and of Publio Francesco Spinola as good predecessors and models.³⁹ In fact, in the year before (1558), the Italian printer Pietro Perna, exiled from Italy for *religionis causa* and active in Basel, published a new edition of the *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos* with the remaining psalms paraphrased by Spinola.⁴⁰ In this way, a buyer of Perna's book could read the entire Psalter rewritten in highly polished Latin verses by two exponents of Italian and particularly, in Spinola's case, of Milanese evangelism.

So, when in 1571 the elder humanist and philologist Joachim Camerarius, a prominent member of Melanchthon's circle, published his *Narrationes de Flaminio*, the work of the Italian poet and reformer was well known to a German audience.⁴¹ Even if no one would designate the work as successful (it

37 The *De rebus divinis carmina* were included in Siber, Adam (ed.), *Enchiridion pietatis puerilis, ex diversis, doctorum monumentis collectum, et distinctum libris IIII*. (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1563) 107–108, 137–138, 141–145, 167, 193, 242–245, 268–270, 280–282, 284–285. The *Enchiridion* was republished by Oporinus in 1564 and in Leipzig by Jakob Apel the Elder (1570 and 1580). Fragments of the *De rebus divinis carmina* and of the *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos* were printed in Faber Thomas (ed.), *Novae scholae christianae puerilis libri novem collecti ex XX. piis poetis recentibus, in quibus omnis de Deo, et salute animorum doctrina varie et salutariter exponitur* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1565) 33–34, 39, 43, 72, 79–80, 86–87, 92, 95, 107–108, 178, 278, 305, 315, 330, 340, 348, 350, 362, 383, 393, 420, 428, 468, 574–575, 592, 624, 635, 646.

38 See Faber's *Dedicatoria* a4r.

39 Cf. Ludwig, "Musenkult und Gottesdienst" 46 note 137.

40 *Davidis regis et vatis incliti psalmi, a M. Antonio Flaminio et P. Francisco Spinula poetis elegantissimis, latinis versibus expressi. His accessere argumenta singulis odibus praefixa. Precatio filij Dei, et Canticum Mariae Virginis, ab eodem Spinula carmine reddita* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1558, 1560 and 1561). The book was reprinted also in Antwerp by Johannes Steelsman in 1559. On Perna's person and editions see Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002).

41 The original title of the work was *Epistolae aliquot M. Antonii Flaminii, de veritate doctrinae eruditae et sanctitate religionis, in latinum veterem sermonem conversae, ex Italico hodierno, nec non narrationes de Flaminio et aliis quibusdam, cognitione bonarum et optimarum disciplinarum ac artium et pietatis studiosorum non indignae: editae a Ioachimo Camerario* (Nuremberg, Dietrich Gerlach: 1571). For a brief account on Camerarius' biography see Stählin F., "Camerarius, Joachim", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957) 104–105 (available also online: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118518569.html>).

was published just one time), it represents a highly significant episode of how Flaminio was received in Europe because it is the first attempt to conduct a critical evaluation of his biography, his faith and his work.⁴²

The title page of the book highlights that Camerarius did not have in mind a pure biographical account. Humanistic biography is polymorphic,⁴³ and here it comes to us in the shape of a translation of nineteen of Flaminio's letters connected to each other thanks to narrative and critical elements.⁴⁴ Camerarius

As far as I know Camerarius' work on Flaminio was totally forgotten until today: no mention of it was made by Friedrich Stählin in his classic monography *Humanismus und Reformation im bürgerlichen Raum. Eine Untersuchung der biographischen Schriften des Joachim Camerarius* (Leipzig: 1936) nor in recent scholarship. For a better understanding of Camerarius' work see Baron F. (ed.), *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574): Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Munich: 1978); Kunkler S., *Zwischen Humanismus und Reformation: der Humanist Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) im Wechselspiel von pädagogischem Pathos und theologischem Ethos* (Hildesheim: 2000) and the review of the book by Mundt L., *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* 26 (2002) 149–158; Kössling R. – Wartenberg G. (eds.), *Joachim Camerarius*, *Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie* 1 (Tübingen: 2003). See also the new editions of some of his works: Camerarius Joachim, *Narratio de Helio Eobano Hesso*, ed. and trans. G. Burkard – W. Kühlmann (Heidelberg: 2003); Camerarius Joachim, *Eclogae / Die Eklogen*, ed. and trans. L. Mundt – E. Schäfer – C. Orth (Tübingen: 2004); Camerarius Joachim, *Das Leben Philipp Melanchthons*, ed. and trans. V. Werner – H. Scheible, *Schriften der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt* 12 (Leipzig: 2010).

42 Among the other Latin poems, in Spinola Publio Francesco, *Opera. Poematon libri III. Carminum libri IV. Epodon liber I. Carminum secularium liber I. Elegorum libri X. Hendecasyllaborum liber I. Epigrammaton libri III. Elegorum de uariis argumentis, libri quatuor* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti: 1563) there is also a *carmen* addressed to the Pugliese heretic Donato Rullo, in which Spinola affirms to be writing a biography of Flaminio. As far as I know, no trace has survived of this work – if it had been really composed.

43 On humanist biography see Weiss J.M., *Humanist Biography in Renaissance Italy and Reformation Germany. Friendship and Rhetoric*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series* 947 (Farnham: 2010) with many references to other fundamental secondary sources.

44 Flaminio's letters were already available in print: Camerarius found the original Italian in three famous anthologies of letters printed in Venice: the two books of *Lettere volgari di diversi* edited and published by Paolo Manuzio in 1549 and 1550 (= Manuzio 1 and 2) and the *Lettere di XIII huomini illustri* edited by Dionigi Atanagi and printed by Valgrisi in 1554 (= Atanagi). Today the reference edition is Flaminio Marcantonio, *Lettere*, ed. by A. Pastore (Rome: 1978 = Pastore). The letters translated by Camerarius can be listed as follow: 1. to Lodovico [*sic* but the correct name of the recipient is Luigi] Calini (Camerarius A6r–B1r; from Manuzio 1; Pastore n. 69); 2. to Basilio Zanchi (Camerarius B2r–B4v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 70); 3. to Ulisse Bassiano (Camerarius B4v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 60); 4. to the same (Camerarius B4v–B5r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 61); 5. to the same (Camerarius

also presented to the reader correspondence between Piero Vettori and Cardinal Reginald Pole about Flaminio's death⁴⁵ as well as two digressions devoted to key figures of the Italian Reformation in close relation with Flaminio, namely Piero Carnesecchi and Aonio Paleario – so that the *Narratio Flaminii* can be read as a sort of survey of the Reformation in Italy.⁴⁶ Finally the volume included an appendix of four letters concerning the debate on the Eucharist.⁴⁷

Camerarius did not know personally Flaminio, so he preferred to sum up the biographical data he had gathered (birth, family, relations with patrons, etc.), giving voice to the documents.⁴⁸ Nevertheless the *Narratio Flaminii* is not a neutral work or a mere anthology of Italian letters translated into Latin. First of all, the narrator's point of view is an Evangelical one. In addition, and more

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- B5r–B6v) from Atanagi; Pastore n. 62; 6. to the same (Camerarius B6v–B7v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 63); 7. to the same (Camerarius B7v–B8v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 64); 8. to the same (Camerarius B8v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 65); 9. to Galeazzo Florimonte (Camerarius B8v–C4r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 58); 10. to Pietro Panfilo (Camerarius D6v–D7v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 13); 11. to Giano Anisio (Camerarius D7v–E1r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 36); 12. to Antonio Pavaranzo (Camerarius E1r–E2r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 51); 13. to an unknown woman (Camerarius E1r–E4r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 55); 14. to Ulisse Bassiano (Camerarius E4r–E6r; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 68); 15. to Lelio Torelli (Camerarius E6r–E6v; from Atanagi; Pastore n. 66); 16. to Teodorina Sauli (Camerarius E6v–F1r; from Manuzio 2; Pastore n. 41); 17. to Caracciolo (Camerarius F1v–F5r; from Manuzio 2; Pastore n. 48); 18. to Cesare Flaminio (Camerarius F5r–F7r; from Manuzio 2; Pastore n. 49); 19. to Carlo Gualteruzzi (Camerarius F7r–F8r; from Manuzio 2; Pastore n. 42).
- 45 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C6v–D1r. Vettori's and Pole's letters were already published in the first print of Flaminio's *De rebus divinis carmina*, but Camerarius states in the preface (C6v) that he took the letters from their reprint in Bruto Giovanni Michele, *Epistolae clarorum virorum* (Lyon, haeredes Sebastiani Gryphii: 1561) 239–257.
- 46 On Carnesecchi see Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* D2v–D5r; on Paleario see D6r–D6v.
- 47 After some introductory lines addressed by the printer to the reader (G1r–G1v), one finds a letter from Flaminio to Carnesecchi (G1v–G5r), one of Carnesecchi to Flaminio (G5r–H5v) and two others between two unknown friends (H5v–I1r and I1r–I6v). Firpo and Marcatto judge apocryphal Carnesecchi's letter to Flaminio (cf. Firpo M. – Marcatto D., "Marcantonio Flaminio, Pietro Carnesecchi e la questione eucaristica", in Firpo M., *Disputar di cose pertinenti alla fede* (Milan: 2003) 209–225; on p. 211 they attribute also the *Epistolae aliquot* to Joachim Camerarius II., but I did not find further evidence of it and the *Epistolae aliquot* are included in the list of Camearius' works provided by Baron F. – Shaw M.H., "The publications of Joachim Camerarius", in Baron (ed.), *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574)* 231–251 (entry n. 156).
- 48 'Et quoniam de his ipsis plus verborum fieri non duximus alienum, ideo quae potuimus de ipso ex eius aliorumque scriptis quasi resciscere, ea libuit hoc loco exponere, tanquam testimonii quoque epistolarum eius [i.e. of Flaminio] sicut antea fecimus, deinde productis' (Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C4r).

importantly, the outward 'objectivity' of his historical reconstruction and critical judgment is partly due to the circular way in which Camerarius used the documentary evidence. Letters were both the main source of his assessment of Flaminio, and the confirmation, for the reader, of the correctness of what he stated. It is moreover remarkable that Flaminio's nineteen letters do not represent the whole *corpus* made available by Venetian anthologies, but the result of thorough selection. Now, the selection itself, as well as their arrangement in an order that was not chronological, depends on the goals of Camerarius' argumentation.

Indeed, the work is composed in order to demonstrate two theses that are close to the heart of the German humanist and that are discussed at the beginning of the work:

Therefore he [i.e. Flaminio] had the highest praise in our time among the learned men from Italy, and he was admired not only for his excellent intellect, but also for his incredible zeal for both certain understanding of things and the proper use of words. Therefore you will not find easily someone more favored by the praise of his learning as well as the excellence of his erudition.

Hic [i.e. Flaminio] igitur nostra aetate inter doctos viros Italiae nomen habuit praecipuum, et fuit in admiratione non solum excellens ingenium ipsius, sed incredibile etiam studium tam certae rerum cognitionis, quam disertae et propriae verborum elocutionis. Itaque non facile reperies, quem huic laude doctrinae eruditionisque eximiae anteponeres.⁴⁹

The quoted passage and its themes – repeated at the end of the work –⁵⁰ show that Camerarius' purpose was to emphasize two aspects of Flaminio's activity and character. The first one, analysed in the first part of the work, is his mastery of the Latin language – what we would define as his stylistic-literary skills.⁵¹

49 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* A5v.

50 'Iam itaque plane spero ostensum esse et eruditionem doctrinae in Flaminio esse egregiam, et iudicii acrimoniam singularem, et ingenii admirabilem praestantiam, et religionis studium pietatisque cultum eximium atque summum et vitae morumque integritatem ac probitatem homine dignam Christiano, ut in hoc celebrando qualicunque facultate literarum mearum, consilium non errasse existimem' (F8v).

51 Cf. also Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* A6r: 'Versus tamen latinos eos composuit, quos docti et eruditi omnes summopere probant atque suspiciunt, et exposuit cogitationis sapientiae ac pietatis orations diserta atque elegante. Sunt in medio epistolae quaedam illius, quibus mirabilis diligentia declaratur, perquirendi et sequendi intelligentiae et

The second aspect, described in the following and longer section of the work, is Flaminio's 'rerum cognitio' and 'ratio vitae degendae', that is moral and philosophical qualities connected to the practice of the true religiousness⁵² – that is for Camerarius the Evangelical one.

Thus he gives a very scant attention to the wealth of secular poetry left by Flaminio – mythological and pastoral as well as encomiastic verses. Instead, Camerarius praises the religious prose works and poetry, especially the psalm paraphrases. The only *carmen* quoted is the epigram in honour of Savonarola – *Dum fera flamma tuos Hieronyme pascitur artus* –, a text quite famous at that time which was transcribed because of its 'sublime morals, the elegance of its wording and the beauty of its composition' and in order to witness Flaminio's 'most notorious affection toward the true religion and piety'.⁵³ So, first of all, what interested Camerarius was the fruitful interaction between literature and faith.⁵⁴ Flaminio, after his conversion, completely embodied this idea of an intellectual – even if his religious creed drew some critique:

When he [i.e. Flaminio] decided to completely devote himself to piety and to the holy religion, he wanted that all erudition obtained by his work and diligence, and that all the force of his intellect would serve this goal, and that the true opinions of divine issues as well as concern about the laws of eternal God's revealed, will, should govern his way of life on earth, his thoughts and reasoning, and finally all his deeds and words. [...] Once he acquired the unimpaired and firm basis of the Christian faith, it seemed possible to inquire about certain structures built upon it. On that point [sc. forms of theological discussion] it was desirable that we all should have been more careful as well as more moderate.

loquentiae veritatem'. See also pages C4r–C4v for the humanist education Marcantonio received from his father and the mention of the Aristotle paraphrase.

52 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C4r: 'Plane et perspicue demonstratum esse confido veritatem sententiae de M. Flaminio meae, quo ad iudicium ipsius de sermonis latini proprio et puro usu, et litterarum scientia, et elegantia loquendi. Ad rerum cognitionem atque disciplinam nec non vitae degendae rationem et modum quod attinet, itemque hac in parte consiliorum actionumque eius laudem ac constantiam; quo ille direxerit curriculum suum et quem finem sibi proposuerit, nimirum caelestis doctrinae et fidei Christianae studium, desinens in veneratione pia religiosaque Dei aeterni, et habens terminum animarum salutem'.

53 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* D5r.

54 On the same topic is dedicated Camerarius' prefatory letter to Ludwig von Hutten (A2r–A5r).

in studium pietatis religionisque sanctae cum hic [i.e. Flaminio] penitus incumbendum statuisset, omnem eruditionem partam labore et industria sua, omnemque ingenii vim huic proposito inservire famularique voluit et sententiae verae de rebus divinis, et curae secundum praescripta patefactae voluntatis Dei aeterni vitam agendi in terris subiecit cogitationes rationesque suas, denique dicta atque facta universa. [...] Fundamentum autem fidei Christianae cum solidum illabefactumque teneret, de extructionibus quibusdam supra illud ipsum, fortasse quaeri posse videatur. In qua quidem parte optandum erat, ut essemus cum attentiores tum mansuetiores universi.⁵⁵

Camerarius' final remark points out that the thesis defended in the *Narratio Flaminii* was not obvious. There was, he argued, a need for interaction between literature and religious belief, praising an Italian humanist and heterodox as well as the search for a common basis of piety. This represented an overt polemic against the Roman church, abhorred because of its supposed heresy and inquisitorial violence,⁵⁶ but also against the world of the Reformation – implicitly criticised in this passage for its contentiousness.

On the contrary, Camerarius, with an attitude he maintained throughout his life, constantly tried to soften the differences. He strongly censured and denounced controversies and theological disputes, maintaining that they distracted people not only from true piety but even from the sense of humanity as such. Thus Camerarius, introducing Flaminio's figure to an Evangelical audience, forthrightly admitted that he was not always able to reach a perfect understanding of the *res divinae*, that is, to comply with evangelical orthodoxy. Nevertheless, he preferred to praise Flaminio's piety, his practice of virtues, his sincerity and the depth of his divine worship – even beyond his theological mistakes:

He never hid his judgment about either the sincere and pure doctrine of the Christian faith, or his pains concerning the dissolution of all constitutions of life, and of the disappearance of discipline [...]. He lived [...] maintaining a firm opinion about the truth of the heavenly doctrine and professed it as a free person. I am however speaking about the doctrine that is universal and is founded, by general consensus, on the integrity of dogmas. Indeed, as for the issues that started to be raised in heated discussions, in a hostile dispute, I would not deny both to be true, that

55 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C4v.

56 On that issue see almost Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C4v–C5v.

his mind was immersing itself into them, and that his opinion was unstable, and his judgment seemed to have been erroneous. About what I do not say more here, not because of the licence of some people who are watching for every occasion everywhere to slander others, who do not seek to learn from published texts what the author meant, but to search for something, wherever it is possible to extract something that they censure by calumniating. And at this time the viciousness of barbarian arrogance stands out, along with excessive rejoicing of temerity in proclaiming confidently about any thing or person whatsoever. Also, in this way – in order to denounce the astonishing propensity to inculcate and to condemn – not only the love of piety is extinguished, but also all sense of humanity is destroyed. And this fervor of the souls is the more showy and has the greater importance, because it pretends the singular care of every divine issue and the recognition, assertion and the defence of the holy religion. Although in the meantime, after souls have been inflated by the [sc. vain] imagination of wisdom, not even a spark of mutual charity will be ignited, or, [sc. if such a spark would have been ignited] casually by some people, it is immediately extinguished, like by a rainstorm, by the confusion of disputes, persecutions and strife.

Non dissimulavit ille unquam vel de sincera atque pura doctrina fidei Christianae sententiam suam, vel de vitae omnium ordinum dissolutione, et disciplinae interitu dolorem. [...] vixit ille [...] cum firmam retineret sententiam de veritate doctrinae caelestis, et liberam hanc proficitur. Loquor autem de universa ipsa et dogmatum integritate consensu generali fundata. Nam in iis quae commotis disceptationibus agitari plane hostili contentione coeperunt, et intelligentiam eius adhaesisse, et fluctuasce opinionem, et errasse alicubi iudicium videri, haud negaverim. De quo plura non dicam, vel propter licentiam quorundam omnem undique aliis maledicenti occasionem aucupantium, qui de editis scriptis non quid autor senserit, sed unde decerpi possit, quod calumniando repraehendant, quaerunt. Atque eminet hoc seculo barbaricae arrogantiae pravitas, et temeritatis exultatio, in pronunciando de rebus et personis qualibuscunque confidentissime. Sic quidem, ut [...] ad culpandum condemnandumque mira proclivitas animadvertatur, extincta non solum pietatis affectione, sed deleta etiam omnis humanitatis sensu. Atque hic animorum ardor eo speciosior est et plus habet momenti, quod rerum divinarum singularem curam ac cognitionem et religionis sanctae assertionem atque defensionem praetendit. Cum interea inflatis animis scientiae opinione, caritatis mutuae ne scintilla quidem suscitetur, vel ab

aliquibus forte suscitata turbido rixarum, insectationum, altercationum quasi imbre statim restinguatur.⁵⁷

It is clear that, together with the praise of Flaminio as writer and believer, the affirmation of a general consensus between those 'devoted to the pure doctrine of the heavenly truth'⁵⁸ and hence the denunciation of polemicists, of their vehemence and of the uselessness of their long essays are the main purposes of Camerarius' work, as is stressed also by its conclusion:

But this I can truly affirm: it is far better and more fruitful that one commits himself to read these works by Flaminio that have been explained now or similar writings by him or by other authors than to leaf through polemical, trifling, and idle pages, which, by coming forth quickly everywhere at this time, can pervert the judgment of many. It can encourage people to insolence and increase the corruption of life, and contribute to the destruction of all disciplines [sc. of learning]. But I have hope that those who love piety and virtue will be satisfied with this little work and they will be grateful enough for the efforts of my study in order to publish it.

Id autem videor affirmare posse in veritate: multo melius fructuosiusque positurum esse aliquem operam suam, his Flaminii, quae exposita modo sunt, et similibus tam ipsius quam aliorum scriptis legendis, quam evolvendis rixatricibus atque levibus et nugatoriis chartis, quae passim nunc evolando et iudicia multorum depravant, et animos ad insolentiam incitant, et dissolutionem vitae augent, et adiuvant interitum disciplinarum. Bona autem in spe sum, pietatis et virtutis amantes hanc opellam boni esse consulturos, et in ea danda studii mei laborem gratum esse habituros.⁵⁹

The *Narratio Flaminii* was just an 'opella', a brief and not ambitious nor pretentious work but, in spite also of the low-cost quality of the printed paper

57 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* D5v–D6r.

58 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* C5v.

59 Camerarius, *Epistolae aliquot* G1r. See also the dedicatory epistle (A4v–A5r): 'nisi ego tota mente fallor [...] utilior tibi futura est lectio brevium Epistolarum Flaminii, nostrae expositionis, quam multorum commentariorum prolixitate magnorum, et ingentium argumentorum verbose explicatione, et in gloriosorum titulorum superbia turgentium, quibus nunc ubique tabernae librariae sunt refertae'.

and many misprints, it was the bearer of a message of Christian and humanistic tolerance and respect. It was therefore not by chance that, just three (two) years before the publication of Camerarius' work, the De Marquets' French translation of the *De rebus divinis carmina* (1568/69) had been sponsored by an open-minded Catholic such as Claude D'Espence.⁶⁰ Beyond Flaminio's acknowledged talent for poetry and for literary expression, what is remarkable in his personality and his work, what determined their fortune in religious environments similar because of the will to appease religious conflicts, is the ability to overcome theological and doctrinal boundaries. Indeed his aim was an intense spirituality, grounded in inner conversion and detached from any controversial contention, because of his lack of interest in dogmatic discussions. The reform that Flaminio learned from his master, Valdés, strove not to overthrow doctrines and religious institutions, but first of all to build a renewed piety.

4 Epilogue

The only quotation of the *Narratio Flaminii* in a sixteenth century work is among the paratexts of the complete edition of Flaminio's religious poetry that appeared in Rostock in 1578.⁶¹ Two distinct passages make up the quotation that represents a good summary of Camerarius' work, while showing its influence on Flaminio's German reception too.⁶² The book also contained, in the last pages, an appraisal of Georg Fabricius, dated 1563, which substantially confirmed that of Camerarius:

Marcus Antonius Flaminus, an excellent philosopher and poet, lived in Rome, and invoked the son of God in Sodom [sc. in Rome as Sodom]. The land of the Sodomites did not admit the pious and chaste ashes. But his soul now rests in piece in the bosom of the son of God, for whom he consumed himself in love and in whom he fixated his hope for salvation. And his ashes, assembled by the hand of the son of God, will be risen to eternal glory.

60 See Balmas, "Anne de Marquets, Claude d'Espence".

61 Flaminio Marcantonio, *Carmina sacra, quae extant omnia, hoc modo nunquam hactenus edita* (Rostock, Jakob Lucius: 1578).

62 The extracts from Camerarius' *Narratio Flaminii* are quoted on fols. 2v–3r which is the text given here above at footnote 59 ('Id autem [...] disciplinarum').

Marcus Antonius Flaminio, philosophus et poëta excellens, Romae vixit, et in Sodoma filium Dei vere invocavit. Terra Sodomitica pios et castos cineres non tulit. [...] Verum anima eius in sinu filii Dei quiescit, cuius amore tabuit et in quo salutis spem fixit. Et ipsius cineres, collecti manu filii Dei, suscitabuntur ad gloriam sempiternam. [...]⁶³

'Philosophus' – because of his Aristotle summaries – and 'poëta excellens' – thanks to his spiritual poems – but not a theologian – in spite of his commentary to the Psalms –,⁶⁴ Flaminio was praised as a lover of God, a fervent worshipper and a martyr of the true faith in a land depicted as one of perversion. On the other hand, in Fabricius' words, knowledge of Flaminio's verses is far more clear than in Camerarius' *Narratio*. Expressions such as 'in sinu [...] quiescit', 'amore tabuit' and 'salutis spem fixit' are in fact references to the *De rebus divinis carmina* which appears here to be – and it is from a certain point of view – the emblem of Flaminio's work and personality.

This work, as well as the *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos*, thanks to Fabricius' endorsement, which was implied in the 1552 Oporinus edition, and to its aforementioned inclusion in scholastic anthologies,⁶⁵ frequently became sources for inspired pieces of poetry, to be included in various collections of poems or prayer published almost until the end of the century by German printers.⁶⁶

63 Flaminio, *Carmina sacra, quae extant omnia* 59v.

64 A trace of the late reception of Flaminio's commentary to the Psalms is the versification of his *argumenta* premised to the text of each psalm (in the *Brevis explanatio*) or to the paraphrasis (in the *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos*) published in Buchanan George, *Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica* (Strasbourg, Josias Rihel: 1572 and 1575, 1578, 1582).

65 Among the scholastic anthologies it is worthy to also mention the *Hymnorum ecclesiasticorum libri tres*, ed. A. Ellinger (Frankfurt a.M., Franz and Nikolaus Basse: 1578), which included a selection from the *De rebus divinis carmina*.

66 See, for example, the verse summary of Psalm 120 reprinted in Platon, *Epistolae graece et latine* [...] *Machiavellismo oppositae*, ed. by J.J. Beurer (Basel, Sebastian Henricpetri: 1586) and in Crato Adam, *Notwendiger Gründlicher Bericht von Paßquillen und Schmachschriffen* (Erfurt, s.n.: 1591); the *carmen* "Eram paterna abiectus in domo puer" from Flaminio's *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos* was republished in *Carmina funebria in obitum Iohannis Casimiri* (Neustadt a.d. Haardt, Matthäus Harnisch: 1592). The *Precationes ab illustrissimo principe ac domino Friderico Wilhelmo, duce Saxoniae* [...] *congestae* (Turgau, Ducal printing: 1596) also included a poem from the *De rebus divinis carmina*. It is interesting to note that these books attest to the scant but persistent circulation of Flaminio's verses regardless of the boundaries of Protestant confessions. The Lutheran Crato and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar are next to the Calvinist count of the Palatinate, Johann Casimir.

In this way, thanks to its European printers and readers, Flaminio's poetry, its pure, precise and informal style, as well its particular motifs mentioned by Fabricius – the longing for peace and for divine embrace, the passionate love for the heavenly Lover and the firm hope in God's mercy and providence – could overcome the long proscription imposed in Catholic lands by the Counter-Reformation.

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Some Notes about the Diffusion of Francesco Guicciardini's *Ricordi* in Germany between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Maria Elena Severini

1 The Travels of a Text: Guicciardini's *Ricordi* in Europe

The initial nucleus of the political maxims of Francesco Guicciardini, known as the *Ricordi*, was composed after his sojourn in Spain in 1512 as ambassador at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic. The collection was reworked and expanded later, in the years leading up to 1525; at the height of an intense diplomatic activity, Guicciardini found himself addressing serious issues that fuelled the reflections channelled into his political aphorisms. The first sixteenth-century publications were based on this edition of the text, known to philologists as version A.¹ The modern editions which we read today are, however, drawn from a third autograph version, composed later in 1530 but not published until the nineteenth century. Referred to as version C by the philologists, this is a less political and more intimist work, very different from the one read at the end of the sixteenth century in version A, which transmitted the political aphorisms to Guicciardini's contemporaries and circulated in numerous different versions both in Italy and in other European countries.²

The story of the first printed editions is long and intricate. As known, the first of these to present the *Ricordi* to readers was that of the Florentine exile

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- 1 On the editorial history of the text of the *Ricordi* see Lugnani Scarano E., "Le redazioni dei *Ricordi* e la storia del pensiero guicciardiniano dal 1512 al 1530" in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 147, iss. 458 (1970) 183–259; Tanturli G., "Quante sono le redazioni dei *Ricordi* di Francesco Guicciardini?", *Studi di filologia italiana* 61 (1998) 229–271; Pasquini E. "L'ultima 'redazione' dei *Ricordi*" in E. Pasquini – P. Prodi (eds.), *Bologna nell'età di Carlo V e Guicciardini* (Bologna: 2002) 241–249.
 - 2 Guicciardini Francesco, *Ricordi politici e civili*, in *Opere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini*, illustrate da G. Canestrini e pubblicate per cura dei conti P. e L. Guicciardini, 8 vols. (Florence: 1857–1866), I, 81–224. On the first nineteenth century editions of the *Ricordi* see Severini M.E., "I 'magnanimi consigli': le prime edizioni ottocentesche dei *Ricordi* di Francesco Guicciardini" in *Italian Studies* 70, 2 (2015) 191–210.

Jacopo Corbinelli³ published in Paris in 1576.⁴ Corbinelli was also the first to manipulate the material at his disposal, setting the maxims in order, performing some censures and, in the *Annotationi* section he added to the text, referring to numerous classical sources.⁵ In the years that followed many different people worked on the political precepts, translating them, reworking them and offering different versions. Among the principal editions of the *A* version, two in particular – both produced in Venice – proved decisive for the European circulation of the *Ricordi*. The first of these was by the Dominican friar Fra Sisto, published in 1582, and the second by the polygraph Francesco Sansovino, printed first in 1578, and then in a new version in 1583. Both circulated widely and acted as a base for ulterior editions.⁶ The version of the precepts published by Fra' Sisto was translated into Latin as *Hypomneses politicae, recens ex italico latinae factae*,⁷ later reappearing under the title *Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum observationum*.⁸ Obviously, the Latin permitted a much broader circulation than the vernacular versions, introducing the work

- 3 See Luciani V., *Francesco Guicciardini e la fortuna dell'opera sua* (Florence: 1949) x, 311–321. On Corbinelli see Calderini de Marchi R., *Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français d'après la correspondance inédite Corbinelli-Pinelli (1566–1587)* (Milan: 1914); Dubost J.F., "Constitution de la France italienne" in Idem, *La France italienne XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris: 1997) 128–140.
- 4 Guicciardini Francesco, *Piu consigli et auuertimenti di messer Francesco Guicciardini gentilhuomo fiorentino in materia di repubblica et di privata* (Paris, Frédéric Morel: 1576). For the anastatic edition, see Guicciardini Francesco, *Piu consigli et avvertimenti – Plusieurs advis et conseils*, ed. V. Lepri and M.E. Severini (Rome: 2005).
- 5 For an attentive examination of Corbinelli's work on the text see Lepri V. – Severini M.E., "Jacopo Corbinelli editore politico" in Eadem, *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo. I Ricordi di Francesco Guicciardini tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Geneva: 2011) 37–68.
- 6 *Considerationi civili, sopra l'histoire di m. Francesco Guicciardini e d'altri historici / trattate per modo di discorso da m. Remigio Fiorentino. Doue si contengono precetti, e regole per principi, per rep., per capitani, per ambasciatori, e per ministri di principi, e s'hanno molti auuedimenti del uiuer ciuile, con l'esempio de' maggior principi e rep. di Christianità: con alcune lettere familiari dell'istesso sopra varie materie scritte à diuersi gentil'huomini: e CXLV aduertimenti di m. Francesco Guicciardini nouuamente posti in luce* (Venice, Damiano Zenaro: 1582); *Propositioni ouero Considerationi in materia di stato sotto titolo di Avvertimenti, auuedimenti civili e concetti politici di M. Francesco Guicciardini, M. Gio. Francesco Lottini, M. Francesco Sansovino* (Venice, Francesco Sansovino: 1583). On the characteristics of these editions see Lepri V., "Le edizioni" in Severini – Lepri, *Viaggio e metamorfosi* 15–36.
- 7 Guicciardini Francesco, *Hypomneses politicae, recens ex italico latinae factae, quibus subiunctae sententiae selectiores ex historia italica eiusdem descriptae* (Halle, Paul Gräber: 1598). See Luciani, *Francesco Guicciardini* 322–323.
- 8 *Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum observationum libelli quatuor* (Strasbourg, Lazarus Zetzner: 1599).

into more strictly academic circles where it made a concrete contribution to political and philosophical debate. The German academic *milieu* in particular drew amply on these Latin versions to access Guicciardini's maxims, an aspect we shall return to later.

However, the *princeps* of 1576 continued to be exemplary, since it suggested to future editors the possibility of elaborating the material of the collection, organising it into a sort of handbook for the daily practice of politics. Corbinelli's approach offered a paradigm which the other editors then moulded to fit the different circumstances and specific intentions behind their own publications. More specifically, the edition produced by the Florentine exile lays bare Guicciardini's reflections on the figure of the secretary, the political adviser who must be both cultured and refined but also an expert in the art of mediation. Certain qualities in particular emerge from Corbinelli's version as fundamental for the *officium* of the good political counsellor: *discretione*, or the caution that guides the appraisal of each individual case so as to plan and implement efficacious action; *prudentia*, the ability to grasp the vicissitudes of events, which are at times unpredictable even for the wisest governor; and – in a very peculiar manner – *dissimulatione*, the ability to balance idealism and realism in political communication.

In this contribution, I intend to explore how Guicciardini's lesson on the art of *dissimulatione* was taken up distinctively in Germany. Personal experience had led the politician to a lucid awareness of power and to consider the advantages of secrecy in politics, a canon specific to the behaviour of the wise man, given the folly, vanity and malice so widespread among men. Secrecy was also one of the foundations of the Reason of State, the *ratio reipublicae*, from Cicero up to the theory of Machiavelli. A principle of political action, *dissimulatione* guides political, diplomatic and military practice.⁹ Starting from Guicciardini's reflection, the modern separation between the moral sphere, valid for individual actions, and the political sphere concerning public acts of governance, is confirmed. The proposals on *dissimulatione* of the Italian historian were to become valuable sources for the elaboration of new political solutions in the Renaissance debate up to Giordano Bruno.¹⁰

9 See Severini M.E., "“Tu che hai lecto et composto tante historie e veduto tanto del mondo”: il carteggio Machiavelli-Guicciardini", *Atti del Convegno Pio II nell'epistolografia del Rinascimento*, Istituto F. Petrarca (Florence: 2015) 381–392.

10 There is a vast bibliography on the argument. Among the most recent contributions, on the subject of dissimulation in Giordano Bruno see Ciliberto M., *L'occhio di Atteone: nuovi studi su Giordano Bruno* (Rome: 2002). For a more general discussion of the subject of dissimulation between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Perez Z., *Ways of Lying*:

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Three European countries more than others played a decisive role in the success of the *Ricordi*: France, England and Germany.

In Paris, three months after Corbinelli's publication, Antoine de Laval¹¹ published the first French version of the *Ricordi* at the printing shop of Robert Le Mangnier.¹² Laval was a court intellectual and author of the pedagogic treatise *Desseins des professions nobles et publiques*¹³ and of vernacular versions of Plato and Aristotle. In his translation Laval adhered strictly to the organisation of the material of his Italian colleague, but also added an original section composed of 42 *articles* drawn from the historical tradition. Guicciardini's *corpus* was moulded and set in dialogue with ancient and modern historians, who not only offered edifying examples but also contributed to the elaboration of new political strategies. The aim was clear: at a time when the role of the sovereign had become critical, Laval supplied a collection of precepts destined to the court in defence of the unity and stability of monarchic power.

In England, the most striking case of the circulation of the *Ricordi* dates to several decades later: the *Aphorismes civill and militaire*, published in London by Sir Robert Dallington in 1613.¹⁴ In Dallington's aphorisms, *scientia politica* is triggered by the encounter between the practical dimension of the *ars militaris* and the theoretical aspect of the *humanae litterae*. This particular version reveals two elements that are significant for understanding the popularity of the text in England. In the first place, the contributions of the first editions of the *Ricordi* – essentially manuals destined for the education of the prince – are mingled with those originating from the *Storia d'Italia* in order to furnish examples and solutions useful to the England of James I, agitated by a

Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: 1990); Ciliberto M., *Pensare per contrari: disincanto e utopia nel Rinascimento* (Rome: 2005); Cavaillé J.P., *Dissimulations. Jules-César Vanini, François La Mothe Le Vayer, Gabriel Naudé, Louis Machon et Torquato Accetto: religion, morale et politique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 2002).

11 See Faure A., *Antoine de Laval et les écrivains bourbonnais de son temps* (Geneva: 1968).

12 Guicciardini F., *Plusieurs advis et conseils de François Guicciardin tant pour les affaires d'estat que privées*, traduit d'italien en français par A. de Laval (Paris, Robert Le Mangnier: 1576). For the modern edition see Guicciardini Francesco, *Plusieurs advis et conseils*, ed. M.E. Severini (Paris, Garnier: in press).

13 See Faure, *Antoine de Laval* 289–443.

14 Dallington Robert, *Aphorismes civill and militaire: amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine* (London, Edward Blount: 1613). See Orsini N., *Studi sul Rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* (Florence: 1937) 81. On Robert Dallington (1561–1636) see the entry by C.S. Knighton (23 September 2004) in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7042>).

delicate religious question and tormented by the difficult relations between the sovereign and a profoundly hostile Parliament.¹⁵ In the second place, the translation shows how, in a kingdom exasperated by parliamentary disputes and engaged in devising strategies for encounters on the battlefield, the interest in Guicciardini related not only to the political and civil contents but also to the tactical and military aspects. By supplying precepts for political action to the sovereign, and models for warfare to the general, his *avvertimenti* defined in parallel the roles and attitudes of the politician and the military leader, in a fruitful interchange between arms and diplomacy. Thus, the collection became pivotal in the definition of a key figure of modern Europe, illustrating how – alongside the figure of the prince – aphoristic literature began to define not only the role of the courtier, the knight, and the secretary, but also that of the military commander.¹⁶

Regarding Germany, the studies carried out by Valentina Lepri and myself have demonstrated how the reception of Guicciardini's work took place above all in the academic milieu of the German universities.¹⁷ The reasons for a type of circulation different from the rest of Europe are largely connected with the editorial initiatives that first introduced Guicciardini's works into the German cultural world. The publishers – with Pietro Perna in the vanguard, as we shall see – offered the work of this historian primarily to a university public which enthusiastically devoured Italian literature to argue and fuel the theological debate from an anti-Catholic angle.

Given the parallel and entwined dissemination of the *Ricordi* and the *Storia d'Italia*, to fully grasp the dynamics of Guicciardini's reception in Germany, the editions of the *Storia* in circulation there also need to be considered, calling for a short discussion of the first editions of this monumental work.

Although incomplete, the *editio princeps* of 1561 was printed in Florence by Torrentino – in a folio version and one in octavo, edited by the historian's nephew, Agnolo Guicciardini. The 1561 edition is remarkable for being the first work of an author not yet known to the Florentines as a writer, but as a figure

15 See D'Avack L., *La ragione dei re. Il pensiero politico di Giacomo I* (Milan: 1974).

16 On this subject see Severini M.E., "Le massime politiche e militari di Francesco Guicciardini in Inghilterra" in M. Del Castello – C. Tatasciore – G.A. Lucchetta (eds.), *Cultura dell'anima. Letture moderne a inizio Novecento* (Lanciano: 2013) 111–134. More generally on the relation between prince and captain see also Faini M. – Severini M.E. (eds.), *Books for captains and captains in books. Italo-German conference on the training and image of the military leader during the Renaissance* (Wolfenbüttel: 2016).

17 See the chapter "Refertissima consilii: i precetti nelle università tedesche" in Lepri – Severini, *Viaggio e metamorfosi* 199–238.

active in the political life of the city. Twenty years after his death, not one of the thousands of pages he had written had ever been published. Up to that time Guicciardini was remembered by his fellow citizens as the mind behind Clement VII's foreign policy and the haughtiest adversary of the last Republic. Torrentino's edition was followed the year after by two in Venice: one produced by Giovan Maria Bonelli and the other by Francesco Sansovino. Niccolò Bevilacqua presented a version of the work in 1563 – reprinted in 1565 and 1568 – complete with summaries, glosses by Remigio Nannini, and biographical notes on the author. Gabriele Giolito published the remaining four books of the text in 1564 and then the complete volume of twenty books in 1567, 1568 and 1569. Finally, in his edition of 1574, Giorgio Angelieri availed, like Giolito, of the collaboration of Tommaso Porcacchi for the editing of indices, glosses and a eulogy of the historian, the *Giudicio*.¹⁸

The figures engaged with Guicciardini's major work also included those responsible for the editions of the *Ricordi* which circulated along with the French publications of Corbinelli and Laval. In the first place, Remigio Nannini, who collaborated on Bevilacqua's editions of the *Storia* and shared his *Considerationi civili sopra l'Historie* – published posthumously – with the precepts of the historian published by Fra' Sisto in 1582 and by Francesco Sansovino who, as already mentioned, worked on two versions of the collection, in 1578 and again in 1583. Like the *Storia d'Italia*, these editorial initiatives too met with enormous success, confirmed by the numerous translations that rapidly joined the Venetian editions.

We should also remember that in France Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* had been translated by Chomedey¹⁹ as far back as 1568.²⁰ Moreover, towards the end of the century the practice began to spread of supplementing the text of the *Plusieurs advis et conseils* – the version produced by Laval using Corbinelli's text – with maxims taken from the *Histoire d'Italie*, following a model that began to emerge with Venetian edition, published by Angelieri in 1583.²¹ The

18 For a thorough reconstruction of the first editions of the *Storia d'Italia* see Guicciardini P., *Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini* (Florence: 1946) and idem, *Edizioni e ristampe della Storia guicciardiniana e loro raggruppamenti. Contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini* (Florence: 1948).

19 Osmond P.J., "J. Corbinelli and the reading of Sallust in Late Renaissance France" in *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 21 (1994) 85–109; Simonin M., *Abel L'Angelier, le politique du Palais*, in Dotoli G. (ed.), *Politique et littérature en France aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Bari: 1997) 53–86.

20 Guicciardini Francesco, *L'Histoire d'Italie* (Paris, Bernardino Torresano: 1568).

21 See *La historia d'Italia di m. Francesco Guicciardini gentil'huomo fiorentino, divisa in venti libri* (Venice, Giorgio Angelieri: 1583).

first of these reworkings was published in Antwerp in 1585 by Guicciardini's nephew Lodovico under the title *I precetti et sententie più notabili in materia di Stato di M. Francesco Guicciardini*. Lodovico employed a new arrangement for the extensive material at his disposal: the *Ricordi* in Corbinelli's version, the *articles* of Laval and numerous precepts drawn from the *Storia*. In the first place, this collection demonstrates Lodovico's awareness of the difficult conditions of Antwerp, for which the facts narrated in his uncle's book and in the *advis* translated by Laval could act as important benchmarks. In the second place, it consolidated the practice of circulating the aphorisms of the *Ricordi* together with the exempla of the *Storia*. Using the material of Lodovico Guicciardini's collection, a Latin version called *Praecepta nec non sententia insigniores quantum ad imperandi rationem M. Francesci Guicciardini, Joanne Bourgesio Houpliniensi interprete* was published in Antwerp in 1587, which circulated widely throughout Europe and especially in Germany. Finally, in 1634 Adam Scaliger, known as Chevalier de Lescale, translated 194 of Guicciardini's precepts and inserted them in his *Maximes populaires*, dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine.²² This translation was based on the Latin edition of Lodovico's precepts, which cited many of Laval's *articles*.

This version is of the greatest importance for Guicciardini's success in Germany. In a sort of vortex of translations of translations, which perfectly represents the hive of activity on the *Ricordi* around the turn of the century, Lescale's work was again reworked and rendered into German by the theologian Johannes Tonjola and printed by Genath. In the dedication to the Cardinal of Lorraine, defined as an expert *Politicus*, the theologian-editor declared that he had drawn on a multiplicity of sources, creating a sort of collation of numerous versions of the maxims inspired by the *Ricordi*. The names of these publications were clarified in the Notice to the Reader: Francesco Sansovino's *Propositioni*,²³ the *Nucleus Historico-Politicus* by Gaspar Ens²⁴ and the Latin version of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Praecepta*. The first and last of these had circulated widely in Europe since the end of the previous century, representing for many readers sources from which to draw the political counsels Guicciardini had scattered throughout his historical work. The *Nucleus Historico-Politicus*

22 Guicciardini Francesco, *Praecepta nec non sententiae insigniores quantum ad imperandi rationem* [...] Joanne Bourgesio Houpliniensi interprete (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1587).

23 Cf. above n. 6.

24 Ens Gaspar, *Nucleus Historico-Politicus e probatissimorum Auctorum scriptis excerptus, & in sex Tractatulos ... diuisus* (Cologne, Matthäus Schmitz: 1619).

was, instead, a channel particularly favoured in Germany,²⁵ a Latin version produced by Schmitz of a compilation by Ens already published in Spanish and in Italian. It is divided into six sections, the second being a selection of 185 maxims taken from the *Storia d'Italia*, preceded by a dissertation on the historical method and followed by a short collection of aphorisms taken from ancient and modern historians, alongside brief treatises addressed to ambassadors, statesmen, and magistrates. This organisation mirrored the approach adopted in the *editiones principes* of Corbinelli and Laval, confirming the role of paradigm for the circulation of Guicciardini's text in Europe.²⁶

Remaining in Germany, it is important to recall here that the *Storia d'Italia* first entered the country through the Latin version of Celio Secondo Curione, published in the printing shop of Pietro Perna and dedicated to Charles IX of France.²⁷ Curione arrived at Guicciardini's text after a tormented personal and intellectual career which entailed lengthy wanderings. Having fled from Italy upon the establishment of the Roman Inquisition, he finally settled in Basel in 1547, where he began to teach rhetoric. However he rapidly came into conflict with the new Protestant orthodoxies and was tried for his tolerant and anti-dogmatic concept of religion.²⁸ His editorial commitments led him to produce important works on theological arguments, such as the anti-Calvinist dialogue *De amplitudine beati regni Dei* – and to edit texts of different kinds including the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, *Aristotelis Stagiritae Tripartitae Philosophiae opera omnia*, the four books of Aristotle's *Logices elementorum* and commentaries on Cicero, Tacitus, Plautus, Sallust and Emilius Probus.²⁹ With the Latin

25 Table of contents (Ens, *Nucleus Historico-Politicus* [unpag. 30]): 'I. Dissertatiuncula de Historia eiusque methodo; II. Axiomata seu selectissimae Sententiae ex Historia Francisci Guicciardini collectae; III. Aphorismi politici ex praestantissimi quibusque Historicis, Thucydide, Herodoto, Xenophonte, Tito Livio, C. Cornelio Tacito, etc. Cominaeo, et aliis; IV. Isagoge ad Rempublicam seu Principatum laudabiliter administrandum; V. Monita pro iis quibus Legationes obeundae sunt; VI. Ars gerendi Magistratus seu Praefecturae.'

26 See, for France in particular Severini M.E., "I *Ricordi* in Francia: la prima fortuna delle massime politiche di Francesco Guicciardini", *Rinascimento* 56 (2016) 253–281.

27 Curione's Latin version was published in 1566 and reprinted in 1567. On Pietro Perna see Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002).

28 On Curione, see the recent Biasori L., *L'eresia di un umanista: Celio Secondo Curione nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (Rome: 2015).

29 On Curione see also Cantimori D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento. Ricerche storiche* (Florence: 1939); Biondi A., "Celio Secondo Curione", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 31 (1985) 443–449; D'Ascia L., *Erasmus da Rotterdam, Celio Secondo Curione, Giordano Bruno* (Bologna: 2004).

translation of the *Storia d'Italia*, Curione offered the masterpiece of the Italian historian to European readers.

The printer was Pietro Perna, who for Curione's edition obtained two ten-year privileges from the Emperor and from the King of France, Charles IX. Revised for a Protestant readership, Gucciardini's work was published in a monumental folio format complete with extensive paratextual appendices. This was the reference text used by Georg Forberger for the German translation in 1574, again printed by Perna, which will be dealt with further below.

It is also interesting to note that, along with Guicciardini, the other great Italian historian to be included in Perna's "history series" was Paolo Giovio. Perna had printed several works by Giovio, even in German, from the early years of his work as a printer.³⁰ The apex of this particular production came with the three folio volumes of *Elogia virorum illustrium* (1575–77) – which also contained illustrations in the form of the portraits of the illustrious men which Giovio had collected in his villa at Como – and with the printing in 1578 of the *Opera omnia*, dedicated to August, Elector of Saxony. Giovio was one of the most influential intellectuals of the first half of the sixteenth century and enjoyed close connections with Cardinal Giulio de' Medici – Pope Clement VII from 1523 – and later with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, experiencing politics and power at the highest levels. He is celebrated above all for his work as a historian, leading to the two volumes of *Historiae* which he worked on for much of his life. What Perna transported from Italy to Germany through Giovio was primarily the decidedly Renaissance motif of fame and glory, namely, the politician's aspiration to the universal.³¹ It is also apt to briefly mention that Giovio's *Historiae* had been translated into German by Heinrich Pantaleon, a friend of Pier Paolo Vergerio, who had met him in the house of Celio Secondo Curione himself in 1560.

Seeking a link between the two great historians published by Perna – Giovio and Guicciardini – we would have to consider the sense of universality in their approach to understanding history which accentuates its extrinsic relation with philosophy. As Bodin said, what emerges in both is the stuff of *philosophistoricus*, that is, the capacity to reveal the tension between the universal and the particular, to define statements of method and observations of a general value without neglecting the detail, the undecidable factor that characterises

30 See Perini, *La vita* 198.

31 See Giovio P., *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung aller Chronickwirdiger namhafftiger Historien* (Basel, Pietro Perna – Franckfurt a.M., Georg Rab: 1570). On Giovio, see Zimmermann Price T.C., *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth – Century Italy* (Princeton: 1995).

every single event.³² Thus, Perna glosses the *Praefatio* of Giovio's *Opera omnia*, published in 1578, by establishing the relationship between philosophy and history:

Most true seems to be that maxim which I hear to very much in use in the schools [sc. also universities] that nothing enters the intellect that was not already in the senses. It follows from this that no universal theorem can be true unless it is corresponding with the experience of individual things, and this is supported by experience.

Verissima namque videtur ea sententia, quam in scholis tritam esse audio, nihil in intellectum venire, quin prius in sensu fuerit. Quo fit profecto, ut nullum theorema universale verum sit, nisi cum rerum singularium experientia consentiat, eique haec experientia subscribat.³³

Similarly, it is interesting to note how, in the frontispiece of the Basel edition of the *Storia d'Italia*, Perna emphatically presented the book to his readers. He praised Guicciardini's qualities and the extraordinary results achieved by his historical method from numerous aspects: the meticulous narration of events, the clear descriptions of the figures involved, the explanation of the reasons behind the events and the acute insights into human nature. Hence, a work in which the ability of the historian in the reconstruction of the *rerum singularium experientia* was complemented by that of the philosopher in elaborating the *theorema universale*.

In the same way, in his dedication to the king, Curione stressed the universal value of the work, pointing out how the reconstruction of Italian history had enabled Guicciardini to cast light on the variety and vicissitudes of human events, and how the multiplicity of cases had offered him the opportunity to draw from them *regulae* and *consilia* that were lasting and universally valid.

For the reasons already pinpointed by the Latin editor, and also in view of the critical attitude towards the papacy which was greeted with lively interest in Reformed circles, the *Storia d'Italia* enjoyed a wide circulation in Germany.

32 The term is found in Jean Bodin's *Methodus*: 'sic Philosophistorici rerum gestarum narrationem cum sapientiae praeceptis cumularunt,' see Bodin Jean, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, Martin Lejeune: 1566) 76; for the modern edition Bodin Jean, *Œuvres philosophiques*, ed. P. Mesnard (Paris: 1951) 138–139.

33 Perna Pietro, "[Praefatio] Divo Augusto Saxoniae duci Potentiss. Principi Electori, &c. Domino suo Clementiss. S.D.P. [dat. Basel, Kal. Martiis]" in Giovio Paolo, *Opera quotquot extant omnia* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1578), fols. (:)2r–(:)4r, here (:)2v.

More specifically, the historian's narrative was sustained by a vision of the human condition that emphasised the contrast between the rationality of political designs and the fluctuations of individual destinies. This topic had already emerged in the *Ricordi* collection, which was published after the volume on the history of Italy, although, as mentioned above, it had already been composed and reworked in three successive versions.

Finally, another point not to be overlooked is that, albeit in a less explicit manner than in other publishing ventures, Curione's version printed by Perna was not immune to the insinuation of propaganda. The inaccuracies to be found in the text could largely be traced to propagandist motifs, despite having at disposal a version – probably the 1561 Torrentino edition – which had already been extensively purged of heterodox elements. Moreover, other of Perna's publications indicate that his historical interests lay in Protestant terrain, such as the *Chronicon* of Johannes Carion, reworked by Philipp Melanchthon with additions by Caspar Peucer, or the translation of the *Silva de varia lección* by Pedro de Mexia, which was more of a miscellany of historic events, anecdotes, curiosities and customs than a real work of history.

These facts make it clear that the first image of Guicciardini to circulate in Germany reflected the intentions of the Piedmont humanist Curione. On the one hand, we can observe fidelity to the original version in preparing a book of history that would circulate widely in academic circles accustomed to the reading of Latin and which could be profitably adapted to readers in contexts different from that of its composition. On the other hand, the version produced reflected the pro-Protestant sympathies of the editor, giving prominence among the historical material to anti-papal criticisms.

To give just one example, in Curione's translation of the section in book XIII which refers to Luther in somewhat disparaging terms, the judgements are significantly attenuated. Elsewhere, cases of outright manipulation are such as to have made Antonio Possevino suspect that the work was not “*omnino recte conversa*”.

Then there is a last aspect to be taken into consideration to complete the picture of the circulation of Guicciardini's texts in Germany. In 1569, again in Basel, the *Loci duo* were also published,³⁴ that is, two portions of the *Storia d'Italia* contained in books III and IV addressing the politics of the papacy,

34 Guicciardini Francesco, *Loci duo, ob rerum quas continent gravitatem cognitione dignissimi: qui ex ipsius historiarum libris tertio et quarto, dolo malo detracti, in exemplaribus hactenus impressis non leguntur* (Basel, s.n.: 1569). See also Guicciardini P., *La censura nella Storia guicciardiniana: Loci duo e Paralipomena. Quinto contributo alla bibliografia di Francesco Guicciardini* (Florence: 1954).

hitherto censored and not published in previous editions. The subjects are known: the section in III-6 deals with the vices of Pope Alexander VI and his incestuous love affairs; IV-12 concerns the origin of the temporal power of the popes; VI-9 hinges on the comparison between the Holy Scripture and navigation towards new lands, while X-4 contains the anticlerical speech of Pompeo Colonna.³⁵ Inevitably this publication too added fuel to the flames of the debate between the Catholic and Reformed churches. As a result, Guicciardini clearly appeared to the Germans not only as a great master of historical narration, fit to rank with the most illustrious names of classical Greece and Rome, but also – and more importantly – as the author who laid bare the political intrigues of the Vatican. Moreover, it is curious to note that the Basel edition of Curione and Perna was placed on the Index, despite not including the famous passages criticising the temporal power of popes. The Roman censure was probably due to the names of the translator and printer, leading exponents of the Reformation. It is similarly significant that the less famous French, German and Dutch editions published between 1568 and 1618 were spared, although many of them did include the censored passages of books III and IV. Still more curious was the fate of the multilingual version – in French, Latin and Italian, the three languages in which the text was available at the time on the publishing market – containing only the censored passages. It was published in Basel in 1569, again by Pietro Perna, and in two subsequent editions (a four-language version in London in 1595, and in Switzerland in 1602). This small volume was placed on the Index of forbidden books only in 1603, thirty years after the *princeps*.

Curione's 1566 edition was, moreover, destined not to remain an isolated case in the story of Guicciardini's success in Germany. Less than ten years after the emergence of the Latin edition on the book market, in 1574 Perna – again in Basel and this time in association with Heinrich Petri and Samuel Apiarius – published the first and only German version,³⁶ by the translator Georg

35 On this topic, see Fournel J.-L., "Guicciardini rassettato", in Luzzatto S. – Pedullà G. (eds.), *Atlante della letteratura italiana. Vol. 2, Dalla Controriforma alla Restaurazione* (Turin: 2011) 175–180.

36 Guicciardini Francesco, *Gründliche Vnnd Warhafftige beschreibung aller Fürnemen historienn die in viertzig jaren, nemlich von dem 1493 bisz auff das 1533, vnter der regierung Keiser Maximilians des ersten, vnd zum theil auch Keiser Carls des fuenfften, Geistlich und Weltlich, zu frieds vnd kriegs zeiten, zu Wasser und zu Lande etc. allenthalben sonderlich aber in Italia, doch des meisten theils durch die Teutschen geschehen sind [...] / Erstlich [...] durch Franciscum Guicciardinum ... mit vleiss zusammen getragen, vnd in zwentzig Bücher getheilt, jetzund newlich aber teutscher nation zu gut, auss Italiaenischer vnd Lateinischer sprach in vnser gemein vnd breuchlich Teutsch gebracht / Durch Magistrum Georgium*

Forberger.³⁷ After studying in Wittenberg, Basel and Leipzig, Forberger had become a translator for August, Elector of Saxony. In the same period in Basel, he also edited the works on natural philosophy by Paracelsus³⁸ and, in 1575, a volume of hermetic philosophy by Alexander von Suchten,³⁹ both printed by Perna. His work on the *Storia* went on to become a vehicle of linguistic standardisation for German readers, acquiring in German culture a role that went beyond the mere intention of spreading knowledge of the Italian events described by Guicciardini.⁴⁰

Forberger's editorial operation, like that of Curione, was influenced by the Protestant climate and political and religious opposition. His version is derived from the Latin translation and an unspecified Italian edition. The translator replaced the censured passages of books III and IV which had been printed separately by Perna. The dedicatee, August I, was an versatile ruler, disposed to receive intellectuals and outlaws at his court. In 1572, he promulgated a new constitution for governance of the church, the universities and the administrative structures aimed at a decisive improvement in the management of justice. For these reasons, August was ideally equipped to appreciate Guicciardini's masterpiece which contained, woven into the strands of the dense historic narration, a myriad of suggestions and rules of behaviour destined variously to the court secretary, the diplomat, the statesman, and the military commander.⁴¹

Forberger von der Mittweiden auß Meissen (Basel, Samuel Apiarius for Heinrich Petri and Pietro Perna: 1574).

- 37 See Luciani, *Francesco Guicciardini* 34. Zaunick R., *Der sächsische Paracelsist Georg Forberg. Mit bibliographischen Beiträgen zu Paracelsus, Alexander von Suchten, Denys Zacaire, Bernardus Trevirensis, Paolo Giovio, Francesco Guicciardini und Natale Conti*, Kosmosophie, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: 1977).
- 38 See Paracelsus Theophrastus, *De natura rerum libri septem. De natura hominis libri duo, opuscula vere aurea. Ex germanica lingua in latinam translata per M. Georgium Forbergium Mysum* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1573). In 1609 Forberger translated from French the *De lapide philosophiae*, see Zacaire Denis, *Von der natürlichen Philosophia, Und verwandlung der Metallen in Gold und Silber/ durch das höchste natürliche Geheimniß und Kunststück/ so man den lapidem Philosophorum nennet* (Halle, Erasmus Hynitzsch for Joachim Krüsdicke: 1609).
- 39 Suchten Alexander von, *De secretis antimonii liber vnus ... Editus Germanice quidem anno 1570: nunc autem in Latinum translatus sermonem per M. Georgium Forbergium Mysium. Cui additus est Geor. Phaedronis ... Aquila coelestis, siue correcta hydrargyri praecipitatio* (Basel, Pietro Perna: 1575).
- 40 See Perini, *La vita* 181–182. See also Tedeschi J. – Biondi G., “I contributi culturali dei riformatori protestanti italiani nel tardo Rinascimento”, *Italica* 64, 1 (1987) 19–61.
- 41 See Zaunick, *Der sächsische Paracelsist Georg Forberger* 14–16.

Compared with the vernacular versions in French and in English – published respectively in Paris by Chomedey in 1568, and in London by Fenton in 1579 – the German version emerged in a precise cultural context. At a difficult time for all European countries, in Protestant Germany specific requirements were generated by the particular conditions to be addressed in terms of both domestic policy and international relations. Split between Catholics and Protestants, towards the end of the sixteenth century the German territory did not yet exist as a united political entity. It was in this rapidly evolving political context that Guicciardini's work enjoyed varied and lasting popularity.

1.2

One particular case of Guicciardini's reception in Germany is that of the *De arcanis rerum publicarum* by Arnold Clapmar.⁴² Published in Bremen in 1605, this was a handbook of political practice aimed at ensuring the preservation of the state, and it went through no less than thirteen editions, continuing to be extraordinarily popular up to the eighteenth century, even in Italy.⁴³ Clapmar was born in Bremen, and between 1591 and 1595 he studied in Helmstedt, Heidelberg and Marburg and later became a professor of history and politics at the University of Altdorf. As well as *De arcanis*, he also wrote *Miscellanea politica*, printed in Nuremberg in 1601; *Prima disputatio politica de philosophia eiusque partibus et fine* (Nuremberg: 1601); *Tertia disputatio politica*

42 The modern edition is Clapmar Arnold, *De arcanis rerum publicarum libri sex*, ed. U. Wehner (Stuttgart – Bad-Cannstatt: 2014). On Arnold Clapmar see Schabert T., *Boston Politics: the creativity of power* (Boston: 1989) 262; Stolleis M., *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, vol. 1 (Munich: 1988) 99; Senellart M., *Les arts de gouverner. Du régime médiéval au concept de gouvernement* (Paris: 1995) 259–277; Stolleis M., *Stato e ragion di stato nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: 1998) 46–52; Canale D. – Grossi P. – Hofmann H. – Riley P. (eds.), *A Treatise of Legal Philosophy and General Jurisprudence: A History of the Philosophy of Law in the Civil Law World, 1600–1900; The Philosophers' Philosophy of Law from the Seventeenth Century to our Days*, vol. 9, ed. P. Riley (Dordrecht: 2009) 4; Tuck R., *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* (Cambridge: 1993) 125; Meinecke F., *Machiavellism: the doctrine of raison d'État and its place in modern history* (London: 1957) 132; Grafton A., *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: 1997) 206; Frijhoff V. – Spies M., *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1650, hard-won unity* (Assen – Basingstoke: 2004) 327; Spiering M., *Machiavelli: figure – reputation* (Amsterdam: 1996) 140; Kraye J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: 1996) 208; Comparato V.I., 'I "simulacra imperii" in Arnold Clapmar', in S. Testoni Binetti – M. Barducci (eds.), *Il potere come problema nella letteratura politica della prima età moderna* (Florence: 2005) 141–151.

43 For just one example, see Settala Lodovico, *Della ragion di stato* (Milan, Giovanni Battista Bidelli: 1627).

de variis philosophicis opinionibus circa definitionem summi boni (Nuremberg: 1601); *Disputatio De iure publico excerpta ex C. Cornelio Tacito* (Altdorf: 1602) and finally *Nobilis adolescentis triennium* (Wittenberg: 1611).

As well as being a historian, Clapmar was also an astute expert of Tacitean and neo-Stoic thought, especially in the form mediated by Scipione Ammirato, which Clapmar combined with Aristotle's *ars politica*. His principal merit was combining the modern theory of the Reason of State with the lexicon of the classical Aristotelian and Tacitean traditions. His works aroused keen interest in the Netherlands too, as illustrated by Gerard van Wassenae's *Bedekte konsten* (1657) and the *Nauwkeurige consideratie van staet*, attributed to Pieter de la Court (1662).

Interestingly, after extensive travels in Europe, Clapmar accepted a post as tutor to the son of Eberhard von Weyhe, who played a prominent role in Guicciardini's success in Germany. Eberhard von Weyhe was a celebrated lawyer, in the field of constitutional law in particular. After numerous sojourns in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France, he began to teach law at the university of Wittenberg, where he was Rector between 1589 and 1591. He also acted as counsellor to the most important German princes, including Frederick Ulrich Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and the Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Kassel. His extensive production confirms a profound knowledge of Italian culture: in 1596 in Hanau he published under the pseudonym Duro de Pascolo *Aulicus politicus*, a text which appeared in a Latin miscellany which contained Guicciardini's *Ricordi* that circulated widely in Germany, namely the *Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum observationum libelli quatuor*, published by Lazarus Zetzner in 1599.⁴⁴

Consequently, the link between Clapmar and Eberhard von Weyhe appears significant, two men interested in the elaboration of modern German political and juridical thought who must have been profoundly influenced by Guicciardini. It also appears highly likely that the miscellany which contained both Eberhard von Weyhe's text and the *Ricordi – gli Speculi* – was the channel through which Clapmar encountered Guicciardini's political maxims. We might also hypothesise that Clapmar's lost *Miscellanea politica*, published in Nuremberg in 1601, at least in form resembled the *Ricordi* collection, if not actually partly reproducing it. Finally, to reinforce the hypothesis of this linkage between Guicciardini and Clapmar should be considered that in the *De arcanis*

44 See Lepri V., "L'*Aulicus politicus* di Eberhard von Weyhe", in Lepri – Severini, *Viaggio e metamorfosi* 209–217.

(*De arcanis* I, 16 and V, 16) the *Loci duo* and the *Storia d'Italia* are quoted on several occasions.⁴⁵

1.3

Now let us take a brief look at the version of the *Speculi* published in 1610, one of the editions most widespread in Germany.⁴⁶ In addition to Guicciardini's political precepts it contained other texts helpful for reconstructing the German context of circulation of the *Ricordi*. The printer was Lazarus Zetzner, who some years later published other influential political works, including Justus Meier's *Pandectae universi iuris*,⁴⁷ the Latin version of Machiavelli's *Principe* in Silvestro Tegli's translation together with the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* by Stephanus Junius Brutus (pseud.).⁴⁸ The work which opens the *Speculi* volume is *De conciliis et consiliariis principum Friderigi Furii*, a Latin version by the jurist Simon Schard of a treatise by the Valencian humanist of Erasmian persuasion, Fadrique Furió y Ceriol, based on the Italian translation.⁴⁹ Taking up an Aristotelian theme,⁵⁰ in this treatise Ceriol defended a utilitarian and pragmatic reading of the historical works which valorised the *circumstantiae*, as Guicciardini had done with the *particulare*, and corresponded to

45 See Clapmar, *De arcanis*, ed. Wehner 66, 456.

46 See Singer B., *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation. Bibliographische Grundlagen und ausgewählte Interpretationen: Jakob Wimpfeling, Wolfgang Seidel, Johann Sturm, Urban Rieger* (München: 1981).

47 Meier Justus, *Pandectae universi iuris civilis: sive collegium iuridicum Argentoratense* (Strasbourg, Lazarus Zetzner: 1616).

48 Machiavelli Niccolò, *Princeps, ex Sylvestri Telii Fluginatis traductione diligenter emendatus. Adiecta sunt eiusdem argumenti aliorum quorundam contra Machiavellum scripta, de potestate et officio Principum contra Tyrannos. Quibus denuo accessit Antonii Possevinii Iudicium de Nicolai Machiaveulli & Ioannis Bodini scriptis* (Frankfurt a.M., Impensis Lazari Zetzneri: 1608 and sumptibus haeredum Lazari Zetzneri: 1622); the first edition was Brutus Stephanus Junius (pseud.), *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (Edinburgh [i.e. Basel, Thomas Guérin:] 1579); cf. for the subsequent Latin editions cf. Brutus Stephanus Junius (pseud.), *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, ed. and transl. G. Garnett (Cambridge: 1994) lxxxiv–lxxxvi.

49 Furió y Ceriol Fadrique, *De Consiliariis, eorumque qualitatibus, uirtute, ac electione, Liber unus longe utilissimus*, transl. Simon Schard (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1563), reprinted in 1588 and in 1597. The Italian version was produced by Lodovico Dolce (Guevara Antonio de, *La institutione del prencipe christiano, di m. Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano. Con l'aggiunta delle apostille, & d'un trattato intorno all'ufficio del consiglio & consigliere, tratto per m. Lodouico Dolce* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1560), and later in the same year, again in Venice, by Alfonso Ulloa (Furió y Ceriol Fadrique, *Il concilio, et consiglieri del principe ... tradotto ... per Alfonso D'Ulloa* (Venice, Francesco Bindoni: 1560).

50 Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 4.

the latter's meshing of historical *exempla* and civilian *avvertimenti* in the *Storia*. Ceriol's analysis focused in particular on the role of counsellor – *il consejero* – the mediator between prince and people, underscoring his dignity and intrinsic values as compared to those of the sovereign. This was followed by *Consiliarius* by Ippolito de' Colli, author of many political writings, dedicated to Philipp-Ludwig II count of Hanau-Münzenberg.⁵¹ He encapsulated his own reflections about the counsellor amidst a myriad of citations. Not coincidentally – standing out among classical writers including Aristotle, Tacitus, Livy, Cicero, Seneca and Polybius – the only modern was his contemporary Ceriol. Moreover, *Consiliarius* also contained a reference to *Guicciardinus* regarding an episode in book I of the *Storia d'Italia*.⁵² The episode was held up as an emblematic *exemplum* regarding the question of governors' choice of good counsellors. Hence a case was extrapolated from the *Storia d'Italia* to outline a lesson of general value which, independent of the context that generated it, could furnish valuable cues for selecting the figure of the sage counsellor to support the governor.

The next work in the collection, *Palatinus sive Aulicus*, was by the same author and dedicated to his brother Aretino de' Colli, who had travelled in Italy, Spain and Germany in the retinue of Vespasiano Gonzaga, condottiere and diplomat while also a man of letters, a military architect and a patron of the arts. This text was followed by an anthology called *Nobilis*, again by Colli but published under the name of Sinibaldo Ubaldo, containing aphorisms on political and civilian matters concerning the question of nobility, derived, as was customary, largely from the classics.⁵³

51 See Im Hof U. (ed.), *Das Reich und die Eidgenossenschaft 1580–1650: Kulturelle Wechselwirkungen im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Fribourg: 1986). In 1597/8, Colli published, under the pseudonym of Johann Werner Gebhart [Colli Ippolito de'], *Fürstlicher Tischreden. Darinnen zu vielen guten Rathschlaegen in Regimenten Anlaß gegeben wirdt*, 3 books in 2 vol. (Frankfurt a.M., Nicolaus Basse: 1597, 1598)

52 The reference is to Guicciardini Francesco, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 1: *libri I–VI*, ed. E. Mazzali, introd. E. Pasquini (Milano: 1988), book I, ch. 11, 9–14: The gentle politics of Piero de' Medici toward Ferdinand of Aragon and Lodovico Sforza's first feelings of being threatened.

53 The three works by Ippolito were then republished together in a single volume with the same title (Hanau, Antonis: 1615). See Conermann K., "Hippolytus a Collibus. Zur Ars politica et aulica im Heidelberger Gelehrtenkreis", in A. Buck et al. (ed.), *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3 (Hamburg 1981) 693–700; Walter A.E., *Späthumanismus und Konfessionspolitik. Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik um 1600 im Spiegel der Korrespondenzen Georg Michael Lingelsheims* (Tübingen: 2004) 274–276; Kühlmann W., "Hippolytus a Collibus (1561–1612), ein politischer Schriftsteller, und der Zinckgref-Kreis",

Of the four remaining books in the *Speculi*, the first was *Aulicus politicus* by Weyhe, again using the pseudonym of Duro de Pascolo, as already mentioned, a pivotal text for reconstructing the connection between Guicciardini and Clapmar. Following the *Aulicus* were the political maxims of Guicciardini. The last two works are, respectively, the *Vir Politicus* by Johannes von Affelen⁵⁴ and the *Florilegium Politicum* by baron Jaroslav Smiřický. From the very first page of his treatise on the politician, immediately after Aristotle, Johannes von Affelen cited the moderns Justus Lipsius and Jean Bodin, two writers who appear as columns of the modern *ars politica* in Clapmar too. The anthology of baron Jaroslav Smiřický⁵⁵ is a peculiar collection. Its cited sources are both classical – Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Tacitus, Suetonius, Livy, Cicero, Isocrates and Xenophon up to Augustine – and modern, including Bodin, Machiavelli, Innocent Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel*, Althusius, Lipsius, Commynes, Guicciardini's *Hypomneses*, Ceriol, Colli's *Consiliarius* and the *Aulicus Politicus* by Weyhe. As we have seen, these latter texts were themselves contained in the *Speculi*, so this text is like a mirror-play of ricocheting references, containing in its sources the very works that precede it in the book. Essentially, the final anthology is also to a degree a synthesis of the volume as a whole, especially as far as the role and figure of the counsellor is concerned, dispensing the techniques of *prudentia*, *discretione* and *dissimulatione* at the service of the potentate.

1.4

To return to Clapmar: his principal work, *De arcanis*, was printed in 1605 in the printing shop of Johannes Wessel.⁵⁶ Clapmar's reference to Tacitus on the secret designs of power appears clear from the frontispiece: "ut Tacitus noster appellat Arcana Imperii."⁵⁷ In other words, from the very title and the frontispiece, *De arcanis* presents itself to readers as a work on the political use of secrecy and, as Comparato has observed, the entire construction of book 1

in idem (ed.), *Julius Wilhelm Zinzgref und der Heidelberger Späthumanismus. Zur Blüte- und Kampfzeit der calvinistischen Kurpfalz* (Ubstadt-Weiher: 2011) 451–470.

54 First separate edition Affelen Johannes von, *Vir politicus* (Rostock, Christoph Reusner: 1600).

55 He wrote a speech on concord for the university of Basel, see Smiřický Jaroslav, *De concordia oratio conscripta et in Rauracorum academia publicè recitata* (Cologne, Konrad Waldkirch: 1604).

56 Clapmar Arnold, *De arcanis rerumpublicarum libri sex. Ad amplissimum atque florentissimum senatum Reipublicae Bremensis* (Bremen, Johann Wessel: 1605). For this analysis exemplar ZB. 04. 0016 was examined, conserved in the Biblioteca Braidense in Milan.

57 See Tacitus, *Historiae*, I, 4; *Annales*, II, 36.

is permeated by the subject of dissimulation.⁵⁸ In the episode narrated by Tacitus mentioned in the frontispiece, the death of the Emperor had opened up a general crisis of governability in the Roman Empire which rapidly led to civil war. Tacitus continued his analysis by arguing that the impotence of the Senate before the proclamation of new emperors was confirmed by the fact that, by this stage, successions were decided by clashes on the battlefield and that the strength and authority of the prince – closely tied to the secrecy of his political designs – was largely measured based on the loyalty of his army.

The behaviour and decisions of governors, Tacitus maintained, are often not easy for the people to understand, and frequently appear mysterious because the common folk are not in possession of all the information at disposal of the rulers. Nevertheless, this secrecy appears to an extent necessary: the need to create an exclusive area – a sort of shadow cone over certain interests and actions implemented by the state – responds to the ‘reasons’ of the higher Reason of State. For purposes of political expediency, and above all for the preservation of the state itself, this keeps the designs, plans and stratagems of power carefully out of the public domain, offsetting the privation of liberty – as Clapmar was to say – with *simulacra*.

In the preface by Clapmar’s brother Johannes who published the work after Arnold having been killed in 1604, the quotation from Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* – “Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante trita solo” – like the references to the great masters of ancient and modern political art, Aristotle and Bodin, underscores the difficulties encountered by Arnold Clapmar in his decision to address a new and daring issue:

I know of no one who has written publicly of the secrets of state; what also Bodin himself, the most knowledgeable man says, [sc. they write] ‘seriously and abundantly about moral conduct of life, how to restore peoples, about the education of the Prince, the establishment of laws, but only superficially about the state, nothing about the transformations of empires and they do not touch upon that what Aristotle had called the *sophismata* or *kryphia* [secrets] of princes and what Tacitus called the *arcana* [secrets] of power.’

Qui enim de Arcanis Rerumpublicarum ex professo scripserit scio neminem, quod ipsum Joannes Bodinus Vir plurimae Lectionis Multi, inquit, ‘graviter et copiose de ferendis moribus, de sanandis populis, de Principe instituendo, de legibus stabiliendis, leviter tantum de statu, nihil de

58 See Comparato, “I ‘simulacra imperii’” 141–151.

Conversionibus Imperiorum, et ea quae Aristoteles principum σοφίσματα seu κρύφια, Tacitus Imperii arcana vocat, ne attigerunt quidem'.⁵⁹

The preface is followed by a dedication by Johann Matthias Hübner to his 'colleague and friend' Arnold Clapmar, 'professor of law and of history' auguring him due glory for his 'vere plenum opus aleae periculosae, quae studio tuo ex intimis prudentiae sunt eruta, et egregie explicata.'

The work is divided into six books, each made up of over twenty chapters. The topics range from public law, the analysis of the *arcana imperii*, defined also as *sophismata*, to reflections on the nature of power, concluding with the *simulacra imperii sive de arcanis inanibus*.

The *arcana* are the hidden techniques – *artes abstrusae* – through which power is defended, preventing seditious actions against the sovereign and against law. If law is the foundation of power, the *arcana* are its defensive fortress, in line with an etymology by Festus (1, 3) that sees the term deriving either from *arca* meaning the castle or from *arca*, meaning strongbox. Furthermore, while law is pure and limpid (*purum*), the *arcana* demand simulation, call for simulation that is, concealing one's true intentions or feelings under a feigned appearance.

The noun *sophismata* and the adjective *inanis* clearly express Clapmar's highly critical approach to the intrigues of power, which are in fact defined as ambiguous, empty and inane. Each chapter evolves amidst citations in Greek and in Latin taken from Aristotle's *Politics* and the ancient historians, especially Tacitus, but also Livy, Caesar and Sallust, and the modern historians Giovio, Machiavelli, Guicciardini and Bodin. It is, Clapmar maintained, essentially Aristotle who laid the foundations for modern political science when, describing the need for safeguards from power, he disapproved *ton politeion sophismata*. These deceptions are what Clapmar called *arcana*. However, in Clapmar the disapproval is gradually transformed into acceptance, in parallel with the transformation of the *arcana* into arts, techniques of dissimulation and instruments of power. Based on Tacitus, whom he cites constantly, Clapmar then elaborated his own ranking between *arcana imperii*, *arcana dominationis* and *simulacra*, that is *arcana inania*.

59 Clapmar Johannes, "Amplissimo florentissimoque [sic] Senatui Reipublicae Bremensis S.P.D.", in Clapmar, *De arcanis* (1605), fols. [a]2r–[a]4v, here [a]3v. The citation is from Bodin, *Methodus* 155. Arnold Clapmar retook those termini from Bodin also in *De arcanis* 1, 4, being probably a neologism of Bodin as the quote (κρύφια) can not be found in Aristotle, cf. Clapmar, *De Arcanis*, ed. Rauscher xxxi n. 118.

It is, however, in chapter seven of book I that we find a reflection on political dissimulation that brings us very close indeed to the reasoning on the same subject contained in Guicciardini's *Ricordi*. A comparison of their attitudes to this topic is illuminating.⁶⁰

2 Simulation and Dissimulation in Guicciardini and Clapmar

The political exploitation of dissimulation is a pivotal topic in the *Ricordi*, in which it is expressed in a range of nuances. Let us take a few examples.

In the *Ricordi* xcix–c of Corbinelli's version – the *princeps* printed in Paris in 1576, containing the textual material used in the subsequent versions, including those in Latin, the editor juxtaposes two of the historian's maxims to define the theme of dissimulation. In the first precept, it is presented as a way of playing for time when faced with the expectations of the other party; the art of dissimulation consists of giving vague and generic responses in order to avoid committing or compromising oneself:

It is honest for a man never to promise what you do not mean to perform. Nevertheless, since men are not ruled by reason, he to whom you deny a thing, though on good grounds, will commonly be dissatisfied. It is otherwise with him who is liberal with his promises. For many things may happen making it unnecessary for him to fulfil what he has promised, and in this way he gives satisfaction without putting himself about. Nay, even when it comes to performance he is seldom left without some excuse, and many men are so simple that they let themselves be cajoled with words. Still, to break faith involves so much discredit as outweighs any advantage you draw from it. Seek therefore to amuse with answers of general encouragement, and as far as possible avoid committing yourself by positive engagements.⁶¹

xcix. E cosa honorevole a un'huomo non promettere se non quello, che vuole osservare; ma comunemente tutti quelli, a chi tu nieghi, etiam giustamente, restano mal satisfatti: per che gl'huomini non si lasciano governare dalla ragione. Il contrario interviene à chi promette, per che intervengono molti casi, che fanno, che non accade fare esperienza di quel che tu hai promesso. et cosi hai sodisfatto con la mente. et se pure

60 See Clapmar, *De arcanis* (1605) 13–16.

61 Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 42.

s'ha da venire all'atto, non mancono spesso scuse: et molti sono si grossi, che si lasciono aggirare con le parole: non dimeno è si brutto, mancare della parola sua, che questo prepondera ad ogni utilità, che si tragga dal contrario. et però l'huomo si deve ingegnare di trattenersi quanto puo con risposte generali, et piene di buona speranza; ma di sorte, che non ti obblighino precisamente.⁶²

The recourse to caution suggested by Guicciardini brings into play not only dissimulation, but also the role of time and its variables. This is indeed an element that the dissimulator neglects at the risk of failure of his strategy. Power and time are aspects which the politician must take constantly into consideration, making efforts to exercise the former while conciliating it in a balanced manner with the not always predictable rhythms of the latter.

In the light of this reading, the reference to time in the title – *Temporum homines* – Clapmar assigns to chapter VII of book I of *De arcanis*, in which he introduces the very subject of political dissimulation, seems hardly accidental. Dissimulation means, first and foremost, being able to identify and grasp “the benefits of time”, as Guicciardini's tried and tested formula puts it.⁶³ The quotation of the title comes from a line in Claudian's *Carmina*: ‘Hujusmodi temporum homines ut a Cornelio appellantur, in quodam depinxit Claudianus.’

Following an approach very similar to many of those who reworked the *Ricordi*, combining material from it and from the *Storia d'Italia* with examples from ancient and contemporary history, Clapmar advanced the *exemplum* of Cardinal Francesco Soderini, a model of political acumen. Professor at Pisa in 1476, assistant to the Pope, referendary to the Apostolic Signatura, diplomat on behalf of the Florentine Republic and adversary of the Medici dynasty, Soderini was involved in at least two conspiracies, for the second of which he was arrested and imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo.⁶⁴ However, through the intercession of Pope Clement VII, he managed to get himself released and

62 I am using here and in the following the translation Guicciardini Francesco, *Counsels and Reflections*, transl. Ninian Hill Thomson (London: 1890), with slight changes – (here nr. 309, p. 130).

63 ‘Quando ti verra l'occasione di cosa, che tu desideri, pigliala, senza perder tempo. perche le cose del mondo si variano tanto spesso, che non si puo dire di haver cosa, fin che non sia in mano. Et quando t'è proposto qualche cosa, che ti dispiace, cerca di differirla il piu che tu puoi. per che ogn'hora si vede, che il tempo porta accidenti, che ti possono cavar fuori di quella difficulta, et cosi s'ha da intendere quel proverbio, che dicono i savi, Che si deve godere il beneficio del tempo.’ (*ricordo* LXII of the *princeps*).

64 Cutinelli – Rendina E., “Soderini, Francesco”, in *Enciclopedia Machiavelliana* (Rome: 2014) vol. 2, 539–543.

returned to office as cardinal and deacon. A prelate 'extremely well versed in civilian manners', as Paolo Sarpi defined him,⁶⁵ he was summoned by Pope Adrian VI to give counsel on the deliberations to be passed in November 1522 in a Europe shaken to the core by the Lutheran Reform. The Pope, a Dutchman relatively unpractised in papal politics, proposed reforming ecclesiastical practices and in this way promoting the extirpation of Protestant doctrine. The cardinal, however, skilfully pointed out to him that this would only prove to the people the truth of Luther's charges and that the only path was that of repression, as in the times of the crusades against the heretics. The cardinal demonstrated an unscrupulous political pragmatism, totally aligned with that of Guicciardini's *Ricordi*.

Returning to the counsels devoted to dissimulation, the good politician, referred to in *ricordo* C as he who 'governs his actions artfully, or rather with some caution' knows that it is easy to dupe men since the 'majority ... are ignorant'. Dissimulation appears an efficacious instrument to relate to the multitude who, as stated in the preceding *ricordo*, 'are not ruled by reason':

When a friend asks you to aid him to affect some end, don't begin by pointing out difficulties there are in getting him the thing desired, even if they are true, saying that you will do everything in your power; the result will be that most of the time your friend will think you do not want to help him. The opposite happens to one who expresses great hopes and stresses the ease of the deed. This one will gain much more by it even if he achieves nothing at all. Thus, we see that he who governs his actions artfully, or rather with some caution, is more content and prospers more. And the reason for this is simply that the majority of men in the world are ignorant and easily deceived about what they want.⁶⁶

Chi è richiesto da uno amico d'aiutare qualche suo desiderio, se mostra le difficoltà, che sono in poterli fare ottenere la cosa desiderata, ancor ch'elle sieno vere, et che risponda volerne fare ogn'opera possibile, fa che colui il piu delle volte comincia a credere, che non lo vogli servire. Il contrario interviene a chi fa largheza di speranza, et di facilità, per che s'acquista piu colui, ancor che l'effetto non riesca. Così si vede, che chi si governa con arte, o per dir meglio, con qualche avvertenza, è piu grato, et piu fa il fatto suo. ne procede da altro, se non dall'esser la piu parte de

65 Sarpi Paolo, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, ed. C. Vivanti (Torino: 1974), lib. I, cap. 24, vol. I, 37.

66 Translation by the author.

gl'huomini ignoranti al mondo; che s'ingannono facilmente in quello, che desiderano.⁶⁷

The historian makes an astute observation: while in the previous precept the emphasis falls on the inscrutability of time which influences the dissimulation technique, in this one attention is focused on the ability of the dissimulator to balance and measure hopes and delusions. Here too, a general definition of the argument is followed by specific cases demonstrating the efficacy of a discursive technique that alternates the general and the particular.

It is interesting to note the similarity with the reflection which in the *De arcanis* follows the example of Soderini, entitled by Clapmar *Media via in prae-eruptis negotiis periculosissima*.

In this case the citation, taken from book IX of Livy's work, refers to the words of Pontius, 'Media via est quae neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit [in complicated and intricate affairs dissimulation can be extremely dangerous]'. In the argument that follows Clapmar emphasises the potentially dangerous effects of the art of dissimulation in the paragraphs entitled *Dissimulandi difficultas*, *Simulatio damnosa* and *Simulatio suspecta*, encapsulated in an eloquent line from Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, III), *Eripitur persona, manet res* (the mask may slip but reality remains).

A similar treatment of the discourse is found in Guicciardini's *ricordo* XCII.

Frank sincerity pleases all men, and is a noble quality, though sometimes hurtful to him who practises it. Simulation, on the other hand, is useful; nay, from the perverse nature of men is often necessary, odious and unseemly though it be. I know not therefore which of the two we should prefer. I can believe, however, that a man ought habitually to use the one without wholly renouncing the other. I mean that in everyday affairs he should adhere to the former, so as to obtain a name for openness and candour; and yet, on certain rare and urgent occasions should resort to deception. When a man lives thus, his simulation is the more serviceable and the more likely to succeed, since his reputation for its opposite makes him the more readily trusted. For the above reasons, while I commend him not who passes his whole life in simulating and dissembling, I excuse him who only occasionally resorts to these arts.⁶⁸

67 Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 42–43.

68 Guicciardini, *Counsels and Reflections*, transl. Thomson, Nr. 267, pp. 113–114.

XCII. Piace universalmente chi è di natura vera, et libera; et è cosa generosa: ma tal volta nuoce. e dall'altro canto, la simulatione è utile; ma è odiata, et ha del brutto, et è necessaria per le male nature de gl'altri. però non so quale si debbia eleggere; crederò io, che si possa usare l'una ordinariamente, senza abbandonare l'altra. cioè, nel corso tuo ordinario, et comune di vivere, usare la prima in modo, che acquisti nome di persona libera: et non dimeno in certi casi importanti usare la simulatione, la quale a chi vive così è tanto più utile, et succede meglio, quanto, per haver nome del contrario, gl'è più facilmente creduto. In conclusione, non laudo chi vive sempre in simulatione, et con arte, ma scuso chi qualche volta l'usa.⁶⁹

Ricordo XCII formulates a general rule of behaviour and represents the core of Guicciardini's entire reasoning. In the first place, he opposes the 'frank sincerity' that 'pleases all men' to the 'simulation' which is 'odious and unseemly'. Then, revealing the utility of deception in 'certain rare and urgent occasions', he concluded by asserting that he did not commend the man who 'passes his whole life in simulating and dissembling' but excused he who 'only occasionally resorts to these arts'. The rejection of a systematic continuity in the use of dissimulation also appears in the following *ricordo* (XCIII), in which the historian maintained that a good name had to be based upon objective reality since at the end of the day dissimulation is not enough: the man who 'might desire rather to seem than to be good ... will not *in the end* seem so.' When the mask slips the naked truth is revealed:

He who is not in truth a good citizen cannot long be thought so. Wherefore, though a man might desire rather to seem than to be good, he must strive to be so in reality; otherwise he will not in the end seem so.⁷⁰

XCIII. Chi non si cura di essere buono, ma desidera buona fama, bisogna che sia buono: altrimenti è impossibile, che lungamente sia tenuto buono.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the need to dissimulate in the face of a power too great to be addressed is also confirmed in *ricordo* XCI:

69 Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 39–40.

70 Guicciardini, *Counsels and Reflections*, transl. Thomson, Nr. 224, p. 101.

71 Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 40.

'Twere folly to be angry with those against whom by reason of their great station you cannot hope to take vengeance. Accordingly, though you know yourself to be foully wronged by them, you must endure and dissemble.⁷²

XCI. E pazzia sdegnarsi con quelle persone, con le quali, per la grandezza loro, tu non puoi sperare di potere vendicarti. però, se bene ti pare essere ingiuriato da quelli, bisogna patire, et simulare.⁷³

This advice treats dissimulation as an instrument for the defence of an individual who, instead of being angry with those upon whom 'by reason of their great station' he cannot hope to take vengeance, must 'endure and dissemble'.

Furthermore, the contrast between the open character of the man of power who does not use dissimulation, and the moderate and timid character of he who does, is also underscored in *ricordo* LXXXVI, which describes the two popes Julius and Clement:

No two men could have been more unlike in character than the Popes Julius and Clement. For while the former was of great and even excessive courage, ardent, impulsive, frank, and open, the latter was of a temper inclining rather to timidity, most patient, moderate, and deceitful withal. And yet from natures so opposite the same results, in the shape of great achievements, could be looked for. Because in the hands of great masters, patience and impetuosity are alike fitted to effect important ends; the one operating by a sudden onslaught, breaking down all opposition; the other seeking to wear out by delay and to conquer with the aid of time and opportunity. So that where the one hinders, the other helps, and conversely. But were it possible for a man to combine the two natures, he would indeed be divine. As this, however, can hardly happen, I believe that, all things considered, greater results are to be obtained by moderation and patience than by impetuosity and daring.⁷⁴

LXXXVI. Duoi Papi sono stati di natura diversissima, Giulio, et Clemente: l'uno di animo grande, et forse vasto, impatiente, precipitoso, et liberale: l'altro di mediocre animo, et forse timido, patientissimo, moderato, et stretto: quello, libero: questo, simulatore. Et non di meno da nature tanto

72 Guicciardini, *Counsels and Reflections*, transl. Thomson, Nr. 249, p. 107.

73 Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 39.

74 Guicciardini, *Counsels and Reflections*, transl. Thomson, Nr. 381, pp. 160–161.

contrarie s'aspettano gl'effetti medesimi, et attioni grandi. La ragione è, che ne gl'huomini et la patientia, et l'impeto sono bastanti a partorire cose grandi. per che l'uno opera con l'urtare gl'huomini, et sforzare le cose: l'altro, con straccargli, et vincergli col tempo, et con l'occasione. però in quel che nuoce l'uno, giova l'altro; et e converso. Et chi potesse congiugnerli, et usare ciascuno al tempo suo, sarebbe divino. ma per che questo è impossibile, et forse difficile, credo, che, omnibus computatis, sia piu laudabile, et per condurre maggiori cose, la patientia et moderatione di CLEMENTE, che l'impeto, et la precipitatione di GIULIO. Della liberalita, et avaritia non parlo; per che di questo puo facilmente ogn'uno far giuditio.⁷⁵

Here Guicciardini emphasised the utility of the faculty of discretion in politics, of knowing how to play for time. The wise politician possesses the virtue of patience and is able to wait for the right time to act.

Clapmar in turn made close connections between secrecy and dissimulation and the right to defend power and the state, in other words, the Reason of State which is justified through the argument of the necessity of the public good. In Clapmar too it is the intention more than the deed which makes the decisive difference between good and bad dissimulation, and – like Guicciardini – the model to which he referred and drew *exempla* from in abundance is Tacitus. Simulation produces simulacra: for Clapmar power is in the hands of those who know how to produce *simulacra*. As Tacitus said about Rome, where 'jus imperii valet, inania transmittuntur [We consider the right of dominion of the Empire, not its vanities]'.⁷⁶

As regards the technical aspect – *aliud agitur, et aliud simulatur* – Clapmar maintains that the purpose of preserving the state makes it possible to *deflectere parumper [...] a regia virtutis via*.⁷⁷ Just as Guicciardini said, the wise politician does not praise the man who 'passes his whole life in simulating and dissembling' but justifies he who 'only occasionally resorts to these arts'.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the dissimulation theory had a long tradition in political treatises. It even enjoyed a certain popularity with Counter-Reformation theologians – such as Navarrus (Martín Azpilcueta), who in his *Enchiridion* and in his *Commentarius in cap. Humanae aures* distinguished between good and bad dissimulation based on the intention of the act – right through to Lipsius, who in the *Politicorum libri sex* discerned it as

⁷⁵ Guicciardini, *Piu consigli* (1576) 37–38.

⁷⁶ Cfr. Clapmar, *De arcanis* (1605), VI, 1, 286.

⁷⁷ Ibidem 287.

an indispensable aspect of politics,⁷⁸ taking in Louis XI on the way, who is said to have coined the motto 'qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare (He who can't feign can't reign)'.⁷⁹

3 Concluding Notes on the *Ricordi* in Germany

The complex picture sketched above and the examples discussed leads naturally to certain concluding remarks on the circulation of the *Ricordi* in Germany.

In the first place, it appears clear that, as in France,⁸⁰ the attraction of Guicciardini's works in Germany can be contextualised within a more general interest in a new concept of *ars politica*, stimulated by new editions and commentaries on the ethical and political works of Aristotle. The German editions of Guicciardini can be explained and justified within the European revival of Aristotelianism. This renewal of interest in Aristotle consolidated research into the notion of politics as an independent discipline. Intellectuals and writers reflected on the communication of virtues, the concept of the common good and the definition of ways of behaving within society, even using the techniques of simulation and dissimulation.⁸¹ These issues then led in the seventeenth century to the development of politics 'from prudence to science' to use the expression of the late Merio Scattola.⁸² In Germany this transformation took place in a particular way. There, between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, many writings inspired by the

78 Lipsius Justus, *Politicorum libri sex* (Leiden, Platin and Franciscus Raphelengius: 1589) IV, 12, 206–207.

79 See Comparato, "I 'simulacra imperii'", 141–151; Biondi A., "La giustificazione della dissimulazione nel Cinquecento" in *Eresia e riforma in Italia nel Cinquecento* (Florence – Chicago: 1975) 7–68, here 23–25.

80 On this subject, see Severini M.E., "Politica e diritto civile nel Rinascimento europeo: *Les Politiques d'Aristote* di Le Roy e la *princeps* dei *Ricordi* di Guicciardini, tra *prudentia* e *iurisprudentia*" in Cappelletti L. (ed.), *I diritti dell'uomo: contemporaneità e antichità a confronto* (Florence 2008) 61–98; Eadem, "Le prince et le capitaine: échos de Machiavel chez Loys Le Roy et François de La Noue", *Seizième siècle* 9 (2013) 245–257; Eadem, "Il destino di un libro al servizio del sovrano: la *Politica* di Aristotele da Loys Le Roy a John Donne", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 74, 1 (2013) 89–104.

81 While simulation is the ability to generate false and deceitful impressions in others, dissimulation is rather the act of disguising, concealing, dissembling.

82 See Scattola M., *Dalla virtù alla scienza. La fondazione e la trasformazione della disciplina politica nell'età moderna* (Milan: 2003).

Aristotelian, crypto-Machiavellian, Tacitean and Neostoic traditions circulated, such as the works by Kaspar Schoppe, Hermann Conring⁸³ and Henning Arnisaeus.⁸⁴

One work was particularly significant for the German popularity of the *Ricordi*: the *Speculi aulicarum*, an anthology which circulated in Germany for many years. To give just one example, the same authors included in the *Speculi* also appeared alongside the name of Guicciardini in the miscellany *Consistorium principis summorum virorum delectu coactorum et sententiis instructum*,⁸⁵ published in 1663. In addition to the works already gathered in the *Speculi* – Fadrique Furió y Ceriol, Ippolito de' Colli, Johannes von Affeln, baron Jaroslav Smiřický – this publication also included material by Antonio Guevara,⁸⁶ Jakob Bornitz,⁸⁷ Christoph Coler,⁸⁸ Pietro Magni from Parma⁸⁹ and Walter Quin.⁹⁰

These same authors who rubbed shoulders with Guicciardini, moreover, also circulated in different ways in the widely-read works of German writers,

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- 83 Among the other texts deserving careful examination are Heider Wolfgang, *Philosophiae politicae systema* (Jena, Johannes Reifenberg and Tobias Steinmann: 1628) and Gerhard Johann, *Centuria quaestionum politicarum* (Jena, Christoph Lippold: 1604).
 - 84 On his work cf. still Dreitzel H., *Protestantischer Aristotelismus und absoluter Staat: die 'Politica' des Henning Arnisaeus (ca. 1575–1636)* (Wiesbaden: 1970).
 - 85 See *Consistorium principis summorum virorum delectu coactorum et sententiis instructum* (Strasbourg, Georg Andreas Dollhopf and Johann Eberhard Zetzner: 1663).
 - 86 The text is Guevara Antonio de, “De vitae rusticae priuataeque laudibus, & contra de aulicae vitae molestijs”, transl. [from the French] Hermann Germberg, in Petreus Heinrich (ed.), *Vita privata: a diversis, tum veteribus, tum recentioribus autoribus luculenter descripta* (Frankfurt a. M., s.n.t.:1578) 200r–276v.
 - 87 Bornitz Jakob, *Discursus Politicus de Prudentia Politica Comparanda* (Erfurt, Johannes Pistorius and Heinrich Birnstil, 1602). Jakob Bornitz (1560–1625), a jurist and counsellor to both the city of Torgau and the emperor and a political writer, published the *Partitionum politicarum libri IV* (Hanau, Jean Wechel – Claude Marne – Jean Aubry: 1608) and in 1612 the treatise *Aerarium sive tractatus politicus de aerario sacro, civili, militari communi et sacratori* (Frankfurt a.M., Matthias Becker – Gottfried Tampach: 1612).
 - 88 Cf. by him Coler Christoph, *De Studio Politico Ordinando Epistola* (Giessen, Petrus Lucius: 1622).
 - 89 Magno Pietro – Colli Ippolito de' – Ceriol Fadrique Furió y, *De Consilio et consiliarii senatorisque officio tractatus*, ed. Andreas Schott (Cologne: Bernard Walther, 1618).
 - 90 Quin Walter, *Corona Virtutum Principe Dignarum, Ex variis Philosophorum, Historicorum, Oratorum, et Poetarum floribus contexta, et cincinnata* (London, William Stansby for John Bill: 1613). See also, ad vocem, Sidney Lee rev. by J.K. McGinley, “Quin, Walter (c. 1575–1641)” (23 september 2004) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/refodnb/22964>).

such as the *Acies disputationum politicarum methodice instructa*, published in Jena in 1618 by Reinhart König. This work, structured in line with the scholastic model in XIII *Disputationes*, set up dialogues between the ancients – Cicero, Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, Augustine etc. – and moderns such as the French authors Froissart, Hotman, Commynes and Bodin, Italians including Possevino, Zabarella, Alberico Gentili, Machiavelli and Botero, and Germans such as Ippolito de' Colli, Bornitz, Arnisaeus, and Althusius.

Finally, one last crucial fact: the reflection on the counsellor-courtier, *l'aulicus politicus* – expert in the use of *prudentia*, *discretione* and *dissimulatione* – and the peculiarity of his role in relation to that of the governor, was classified precisely on the basis of the Florentine historian's *Ricordi*, assimilated by writers who significantly influenced the foundations of modern European political thought. These skills were shortly to be enlisted among politicians capable of elaborating the Reason of State. In this context, Clapmar is for Germany an emblematic case, who, with the concept of *arcana imperii*, introduced a mode of understanding the art of politics which was to become enormously popular in the country.

In the same way, Guicciardini returned to the limelight of political thought in the nineteenth century, when interest in his work was reignited by requirements analogous to those which had stimulated European concern between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Late-Renaissance German readers had taken from his works cues and suggestions about how to tackle a profound political crisis and above all a method based on the dialectic between universality and contingency, ushering in a process that achieved its consummation in the nineteenth-century theories of power and state.⁹¹

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91 On this see Severini, "I 'magnanimi consigli'".

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Between Italy and Germany: City-States in Early Modern Legal Literature

Lucia Bianchin

1 Cities in the European Legal and Political Tradition between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

In the preface to the volume *Le ideologie della città europea dall'Umanesimo al Rinascimento* Vittorio Conti argues that, if one of the most popular historiographic theories focusing upon the European city identifies urban centres as being 'in an inverse relationship with the modern state' (meaning that the history of the birth of the modern state is at once the history of the end of the city as an independent political entity). It is precisely at the waning of cities as politically autonomous entities, Conti maintains, that the history of the new political values engendered by *that* idea of city begins. Republican values, which, despite signs to the contrary, persisted in the Early Modern era gather around the legacy of urban thought.¹ These considerations also apply to the Holy Roman Empire, since this polity, like the Netherlands and Switzerland, attempted at this time to recover what Conti called 'the underlying continuum of the republican tradition of the city that began upon Italic shores', although in its own way, due to the peculiar relationships between central power and local autonomies of the German Empire.

This is evidenced by the corpus of city chronicles, legal-political literature and historiographic considerations of the history of 'free imperial cities' (*freie Reichsstädte*), the cities of the Holy Roman Empire which flourished between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were under the Emperor's direct jurisdiction, rather than being subject to intermediate feudal powers. They enjoyed a peculiar legal *status*, which made them in some respects comparable to the territorial princes, while also granting them a number of formally

1 Conti C., "Premessa", in idem (ed.), *Le ideologie della città europea dall'umanesimo al romanticismo* (Florence: 1993) IX–X. I have already partly discussed this issue in "Le Libere città imperiali nella giuspubblicistica tedesca del primo Seicento", in Campos Boralevi L. (ed.), *Challenging centralism. Decentramento e autonomie nel pensiero politico europeo* (Florence: 2011) 89–98.

recognized liberties and privileges allowing a great deal of autonomy. Many studies – mostly German – have been written about this topic, in particular starting from the eighteenth century.²

Fifteenth and sixteenth century sources provide a variety of descriptions of free cities written by chroniclers, *laudationes urbium*, as well as diplomatic and, more rarely, works of politico-legal theory.³ In particular, there is an essay on Bartolus' 'readers', in which Diego Quaglioni pointed to the large dissemination of Bartolus' treatises beyond the Alps, especially those serving public and political purposes (such as *De regimine civitatis*, *De tyranno* and *De Guelphis et Ghebellinis*), which engendered intellectual consideration in the German lands as well.⁴ There are also some theological-political reflections, like that

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- 2 For an overview of these studies, I merely refer here to Isenmann E., *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter, 1250–1500* (Stuttgart: 1988); Dilcher G., *Zum Bürgerrecht und Stadtverfassung im europäischen Mittelalter* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 1996); Blickle P., *Kommunalismus. Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform*, 2 vols. (Munich: 2000); Scott T., *The City-State in Europe, 1000–1600* (Oxford: 2012). For a useful comparison between the Italian and German municipal experiences in the Late Middle Ages, see Chittolini G. – Willoweit D. (eds.), *Statuti città territori in Italia e Germania tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: 1992) and *Hochmittelalterliche Territorialstrukturen in Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin: 1996); Berengo M., *L'Europa delle città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Turin: 1999); Epstein S.R. (ed.), *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800* (Cambridge: 2001); Parker G., *The City-State through History* (London: 2004). For the Early Modern Age see Walker M., *German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate 1648–1871* (Ithaca, NY: 1971) and, recently, the historiographical debate on Walker's book forty years later in the special issue of *Central European History* 47, 3 (2014). See also Vries J. de, *European Urbanisation 1500–1800* (London: 1984); Schilling H., *Die Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: 1993; 2nd ed. 2004); Rosseaux U., *Städte in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Darmstadt: 2006) and Krischer A., *Reichsstädte in der Fürstengesellschaft* (Darmstadt: 2006). For the constitutional theory of city republicanism see in particular Koenigsberger H. (ed.), *Republiken und Republikanismus im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: 1988); Mackenney R., *The City-State, 1500–1700: Republican Liberty in an Age of Princely Power* (London: 1989); Stolleis M. (ed.), *Recht, Verfassung und Verwaltung in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt* (Cologne: 1991); Hafner U., *Republik im Konflikt* (Tübingen: 2001); Lau Th., *Unruhige Städte. Die Stadt, das Reich und die Reichsstadt: 1648–1806* (Munich: 2012).
 - 3 See, among other, Rassem M. – Stagl J. (eds.), *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit: vornehmlich im 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn et alii: 1980) and Rassem M. – Stagl J. – Rose W. (eds.), *Geschichte der Staatsbeschreibung. Ausgewählte Quellentexte 1456–1813* (Berlin: 1994). See also Chittolini G., "Le città tedesche in alcune scritture diplomatiche italiane", in Bocchi F. – Smurra R. (eds.), *'Imago urbis'. L'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia* (Rome: 2003) 323–350.
 - 4 Cf. Quaglioni D., "Il pubblico dei legisti trecenteschi: i 'lettori' di Bartolo", in Ascheri M. (ed.), *Scritti di storia del diritto offerti dagli allievi a Domenico Maffei* (Padua: 1991) 181–201 and idem,

by Martin Bucer,⁵ and other types of sources. I argue that throughout the sixteenth century, however, the focus was mainly on internal organizations and city governments, or on specific issues, that often concerned the existence or scope of a privilege enjoyed by a city vis-à-vis the Emperor, or of a commercial prerogative with respect to rival cities.

2 Christoph Scheurl and the ‘Epistola ad Staupitium de statu sive regimine reipublicae Norimbergensis’ (1516)

Among this latter type of sources, a special fate was reserved for the writings of the humanist jurist Christoph Gottlieb von Scheurl on the Nuremberg Constitution.⁶ Born in Nuremberg in 1481, Scheurl trained academically first in Heidelberg and later in Bologna, where he graduated *in utroque iure*, then, for eight years, between 1498 and 1506, traveled extensively, also visiting and learning in depth about other Italian cities such as Venice, Rome and Naples.⁷

“Das Publikum der Legisten im 14. Jahrhundert. Die ‘Leser’ des Bartolus von Sassoferrato”, in Miethke J. (ed.), *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich: 1992) 93–110.

5 Cf. Falchi Pellegrini M.A., “Tra teologia politica e ideologia. Le libere città imperiali in Martin Bucer”, in Conti (ed), *Le ideologie della città europea* 149–162.

6 For this part of my chapter, I have relied on suggestions made by Cornel Zwierlein, whom I would like to thank most heartily. See in particular his essay “Deutsche und italienische Staatsbeschreibungskunst. Die Einkünfte aller Reichsstände, ca. 1547/48 nach einer unbekannten Quelle”, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 39, 4 (2012) 593–660. Detailed biographical information about Christoph Gottlieb von Scheurl can be found in: Soden F.F. v., *Christoph Scheurl der Zweite und sein Wohnhaus in Nürnberg: Ein biographisch-historischer Beitrag zur Reformation und zu den Sitten des 16ten Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg: 1837), and idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Sitten jener Zeit, mit besonderem Hinblick auf Christoph Scheurl II., nach archivärischen und anderen handschriftlichen Quellen* (Nuremberg: 1855); Lochner G.W.K., *Lebensläufe berühmter und verdienster Nürnberger* (Nuremberg: 1861) 47–50; Wegele F.X. v., *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Munich: 1885) 239–297; Mummenhoff E., “Scheurl, Christoph”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31 (Leipzig: 1890) 145–154; Knod G.C., *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289–1562). Biographischer Index zu den Acta Nationis Germanicae universitatis Bononiensis* (Berlin: 1899) 488–489; Graf W., *Doktor Christoph Scheurl von Nürnberg* (Hildesheim: 1972; reprint Leipzig – Berlin: 1930); Wriedt M., “Christoph Scheurl”, *Biographisches Kirchenlexikon* IX (Hamm: 1995) 178–185; Fuchs F., “Christoph Scheurl”, *Verfasserlexikon*, 2: *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520 (L–Z)*, ed. F.J. Worstbrock (Göttingen: 2013) 840–877.

7 On Scheurl’s experiences in Bologna and his circle of relationships, information that is also helpful for reconstructing that city’s cultural history in those years, see De Benedictis A., “Un umanista tedesco tra Bologna e Norimberga, tra le guerre d’Italia e la Riforma in Germania:

In 1508, with the support of his old classmate Johann von Staupitz (a student in Bologna at the same time and, later, a distinguished theologian, Vicar of the Order of the Heremits of Saint Augustine and professor at the University of Wittenberg), Scheurl was awarded a tenured position at the University of Wittenberg as Professor of Law. Appointed shortly thereafter Dean of the newly established law faculty, Scheurl endeavored to seek its approval by providing it with a charter modeled after the one at the University of Bologna. Among other things, in Wittenberg Scheurl befriended Martin Luther, a pupil of Staupitz and his successor to the Chair of Biblical Theology in 1512. In those years, Scheurl was also tasked with prestigious assignments by Prince-Elector of Saxony Frederick III.

Scheurl remained in Wittenberg until 1512, when he decided to return to his hometown, becoming the legal adviser to the free city of Nuremberg, a prestigious assignment that he fulfilled tirelessly (at the City Council, the courthouse and other city institutions, and in charge of important diplomatic missions, such as those in Spain, at the court of Charles V, in 1513 then in Vienna at the court of future Emperor Ferdinand I, and in France at the court of Francis I),⁸ until his death in 1542.

Scheurl had an extensive exchange of correspondence with the major players of the cultural, religious, political and artistic life of the time (from Luther to Melancthon, Jodochus Trutfetter, Caritas Pirckheimer, Johann Cochlaeus, Johann Apel, Albrecht Dürer and others),⁹ especially humanists. He was actually one of the most important examples of those German jurists who, having been educated in Italy, contributed to the dissemination of Humanism across the German lands upon returning home.¹⁰ Over his productive career, Scheurl

Christoph Scheurl (1481–1542)”, in *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo. Secoli XV–XVI* (Bologna: 2010) 81–90.

- 8 Scheurl himself gives a lively description of the many tasks of a legal adviser in the city of Nuremberg in chapter 25 of the *Epistola ad Staupitium*. See Bebb Ph.N., *Christoph Scheurl's role as legal adviser to the Nuremberg City Council, 1512 to 1525*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan: 1971) and Isenmann E., “Reichsrecht und Reichsverfassung in Konsilien reichsstädtischer Juristen (15.-17. Jahrhundert)”, in: Schnur R. (ed.), *Die Rolle der Juristen bei der Entstehung des modernen Staates* (Berlin: 1986) 545–628, in part. 573–574. More generally see Ascheri M. – Baumgärtner I. – Kirshner J. (eds.), *Legal Consulting in the Civil Law Tradition* (Berkeley: 1999).
- 9 See the vast epistolary *Christoph Scheurl's Briefbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation und ihrer Zeit*, 2 vols., ed. F.F. v. Soden – J.K.F. Knaake (Potsdam: 1867–1872; reprint Aalen: 1962).
- 10 On these questions see Münkler H. – Grünberger H. – Mayer K. (eds.), *Die Nationalisierung Europas im Diskurs humanistischer Intellektueller. Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin: 1988);

authored several *orationes* and *libelli*,¹¹ documents of historical, biographical and autobiographical nature, and many *consilia*, which were later included in various collections of legal material in Nuremberg, where, occasionally, he was also a publisher and translator.¹²

The aforementioned work is the *Epistola ad Staupitium de statu sive regimine reipublicae Norimbergensis*, dated December 15, 1516. Scheurl drafted it as a letter to his friend Johann Staupitz, who, during a trip to Nuremberg, had expressed his desire to be better informed about the form of the city's government. Despite the rather casual circumstance and the relative speed with which the text was written (it seems a dozen hours in all),¹³ the work offers one of the first, effective descriptions of a model city constitution such as that of

Sottili A., *Università e cultura. Studi sui rapporti Italo-tedeschi nell'età dell'Umanesimo* (Goldbach: 1993); Schmutz J., *Juristen für das Reich. Die deutschen Rechtsstudenten an der Universität Bologna (1265–1425)*, 2 vols. (Basel: 2000); Helmraht J., "Die Diffusion des Humanismus. Zur Einführung", in Helmraht J. – Walther G. (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: 2002) 9–29; Vogel E. (ed.), *Zwischen Ausgrenzung und Hybridisierung. Zur Konstruktion von Identitäten aus kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Würzburg: 2003). About the role of Scheurl in this context see among other Stock U., *Die Bedeutung der Sakramente in Luther's Sermonen von 1519* (Leiden: 1982), and in particular the paragraph entitled "Die treuen Leser und Freunde in Nürnberg: Christoph Scheurl" 64–78; McGrath A.E., *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough* (Wiley – Blackwell: 1985; reprint 2011) 42–44; Classen C.J., *Antike Rhetorik im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Munich – Leipzig: 2003) 349; Marx B., *Wandering objects, migrating artists: the appropriation of Italian Renaissance art by German courts in the sixteenth century*, in H. Roodenburg (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 4: *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*. With an introductory essay by B. Roeck (Cambridge et al.: 2007) 178–226, in part. 187–188.

- 11 See, for instance, Mertens D., "Laudes Germaniae in Bologna und Wittenberg. Zu Christoph Scheurl's *Libellus de laudibus Germaniae et Ducum Saxoniae* 1506 und 1508", in F. Forner – C.M. Monti – P.G. Schmidt (eds.), *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, 2 vols. (Milan: 2005) vol. 2, 717–731.
- 12 For details on Scheurl's work, see Grossmann M., "Bibliographie der Werke Christoph Scheurl's", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 10 (1969) 373–395, later also published in *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* 25 (1969) 658–670, and Fuchs, "Christoph Scheurl" 848–877. See also Huetting G.P., "A Book from the Library of Christoph Scheurl (1481–1542)", *The Courier* (Syracuse University Surface) 23, 1 (1988) 49–56.
- 13 Scheurl himself declared this in the note concluding his epistle, in which he apologizes for lacking time to touch up the text and for overlooking some topics, from pious institutions to various branches of the city administration (accounting, assistance to the poor, military organization, corporations and all associated offices). Cf. Scheurl Christoph, *Epistel über die Verfassung der Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (1516), in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*

Nuremberg, one of the Empire's most important free cities. In this sense, it represents not only a fundamental document for the history of Nuremberg, and the basis for subsequent re-drafting of the city regulations, but also a model for the numerous city chronicles that were to proliferate in the following decades.

The *Epistola ad Staupitium* was written by Scheurl in Latin,¹⁴ and this is how it was published, more than a century and a half later, in the *Tractatus de statu publico Europae* by Christian Gastel (Nuremberg, 1675)¹⁵ and in the *Commentatio de Civitate Noribergensi* by Johann Christoph Wagenseil (Altdorf, 1697),¹⁶ which ensured the work had wide circulation. However, it had already been translated into German in the years immediately after its drafting, for use by the city administration. There is evidence of at least three handwritten copies, utilized by the editors of the text's critical edition, in German, that we can find in the series *Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, published in the second half of the nineteenth century by the *Historische Kommission*.¹⁷

What is worthy of note, however, is that we find the epistle's Italian translation included in some works published starting from the mid-sixteenth century in Venice (perhaps also due to a certain similarity between the form of government of Nuremberg and Venice, as well as to the commercial and cultural relations between the two cities, attested by the presence of a large

vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, vol. XI, 5: *Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg* (Leipzig, Hirzel: 1874) 781–820, here 804 (“Beschluss der Epistel”).

- 14 On the various editions of Scheurl's *Epistola ad Staupitium*, see Will Georg Andreas, *Bibliotheca Norica Williana oder kritisches Verzeichniß aller Schriften, welche die Stadt Nürnberg angehen, in sechs Theilen verfasst und mit einem gedoppelten Register versehen* (Altdorf, Georg Peter Monath: 1790), Pars I, Sectio I, 145. See also Murr Christoph Gottlieb v., *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, Wolf and Penker: 1801) 605, which also mentions a French translation of the epistle published in Paris in 1601.
- 15 Cf. Gastel Christian, *De statu publico Europae novissimo tractatus* (Nuremberg, Johann Hoffmann: 1675) col. 1205b–1210b.
- 16 Cf. Wagenseil Johann Christoph, *De Sacri Romani Imperii Libera Civitate Noribergensi Commentatio* (Altdorf, Jobst Wilhelm Kohles: 1697) 191–201.
- 17 Scheurl, “Epistel”. The introduction to the epistle mentions an accurate collation of the three different manuscripts, contained in many collections of acts of government of the city of Nuremberg. The result is a German edition of the epistle, annotated with the Latin edition in some unclear passages. The choice of the German version is however justified by the fact that the text is more in line with the terminology used in Nuremberg in the sixteenth century, rather than with a Latin vocabulary that was certainly more learned but had developed from institutions and legal bodies that were not fully consistent with such terminology.

community of Italians and, particularly, Venetians, in Nuremberg).¹⁸ A telling case would be a work titled *I dieci circoli dell'Imperio nella Germania* (Venice 1558),¹⁹ whose dedicatory epistle was signed by Friar Valerio Faenzi (who was most probably its compiler).²⁰ The first part of this volume focuses on *Il primo circolo di Franconia*, meaning the Imperial Circle of Franconia (the *Fränkischer Reichskreis*), and after that follows, under the title *Descrittione della Republica di Norimberga*, the Italian translation of Scheurl's *Epistola ad Staupitium*, lacking its introduction and conclusion, and without any reference to its original source.

The text of the translation corresponds exactly to what we can read, about twenty years later, in a much better known work: Francesco Sansovino's treatise *Del Governo et amministrazione di diversi regni, et republiche, così antiche, come moderne*, first published in Venice in 1561. The work is known as the first systematic review of the constitutions of some important kingdoms and

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- 18 On the Italian translation, see Will, *Bibliotheca Norica* 1, 145, no. 498; Siebenkees Johann Christian, *Materialien zur Nürnbergschen Geschichte*, 11 (Nuremberg, Adam Gottlieb Schneider: 1794) 572–573, and Fuchs, “Ch. Scheurl” 860.
 - 19 *I dieci Circoli dell'Imperio. Con l'entrate de Principi, et de gli stati della Germania. Con le contributioni, si della Cavalleria, come della Fanteria. Con una particolar descrittione della Republica di Norimbergo* (Venice, Academia Venetiana: 1558) fols. 26r–35v. See Zwierlein, “Deutsche und italienische Staatsbeschreibungskunst”, 603–612.
 - 20 Cf. Puliafito A.L., “Gli ‘splendori dell'Aurora’. Fasti editoriali dell'Accademia Veneziana della Fama nei testi di dedica: 1558–1559”, in Secchi Tarugi L. (ed.), *L'Europa del libro nell'età dell'Umanesimo* (Florence: 2004) 489–504, here 497n. For a biography of Valerio Faenzi see *Delle iscrizioni veneziane raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna cittadino veneto* III (Venice: 1830) 441–443: a Dominican from Verona and theologian of the *Accademia Veneziana*, in 1561, Faenzi became Vicar of the Inquisitor of the *Sant'Uffizio* and in 1566 was appointed Inquisitor General by Pope Pius V. He is certainly the author of *De montium origine* (Venice, Academia Veneta: 1561). In any case, the translation of Scheurl's text must have been done earlier to the publication of Faenzi's anthology. Cf. Zwierlein, “Deutsche und italienische Staatsbeschreibungskunst” 611–612, which refers to Zucchi S.M., *Deutschland und die Deutschen im Spiegel venezianischer Berichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Ph.D. dissertation (Philipps-Universität Marburg: 2001) 126–131 (*Exkurs: Nürnberg als Beispiel gerechter Regierung*). On the huge editorial program of the *Accademia Venetiana* and its founder Federico Badoer at that time see Stella A., “Badoer, Federico”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 5 (1963) 106–108; Rose P.L., “The *Accademia Venetiana*. Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice”, *Studi Veneziani* 11 (1969) 191–242; Bolzoni L., “L'Accademia Veneziana: splendore e decadenza di una utopia enciclopedica”, in Boehm L. – Raimondi E. (eds.), *Università, Accademie e Società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Bologna: 1981), and eadem, *La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Turin: 1995).

republics. Starting with the Venice edition of 1578, which was larger than the first version, Sansovino's work includes a section on the Nuremberg government (Book xx in the 1578 edition, and Book xxI in 1583 and 1607), which includes the translation of Scheurl's text published by Faenzi a few years earlier, still without reference to the original source.²¹

The *Epistola ad Staupitium* is organized in 26 chapters in which Scheurl discussed in an orderly fashion, first and foremost, the composition and structure of the 'Superior Council' or the Senate of Nuremberg (42 members, of which there were 34 nobles and eight plebeians)²² and of the 'Major Council' of the city (about 200 honored citizens)²³ and, next, the complicated electoral system

21 Cf. Sansovino Francesco, *Del Governo et amministrazione di diversi regni, et repubbliche, così antiche, come moderne, libri XXI* (Venice, Giacomo Sansovino: 1578), lib. xx: *Del governo della Rep. di Norimberga*, fols. 176v–181v. The next book, which completes the treatise, is a free translation of Thomas More's *Utopia* (lib. xxI: *Del Governo della Repubblica di Utopia*). See also the following edition Sansovino, *Del Governo et Amministrazione di diversi regni, et repubbliche, così antiche, come moderne, libri XXII* (Venice, Altobello Salicato: 1583), lib. xxI: *Del governo et amministrazione della Repubblica di Norimberga*, fols. 178r–183v. See Zwierlein, "Deutsche und italienische Staatsbeschreibungskunst" 603. On the widespread circulation and influence of this work by Sansovino in public law literature between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially through Bodin's *République*, see Bodin Jean, *I sei libri dello Stato*, I, ed. M. Isnardi Parente (Turin: 1964, reprint 1988) 102 note 6, and Bodin, *I sei libri dello Stato*, III, ed. M. Isnardi Parente – D. Quaglioni (Turin: 1997) 693. See Quaglioni D., *I limiti della sovranità. Il pensiero di Jean Bodin nella cultura politica e giuridica dell'età moderna* (Padua: 1992) 85, note 14, and Carta P., Piero Calamandrei e Pietro Pancrazi editori di Sansovino e La Boétie, in Angelini G. – Tesoro M. (eds.), *De amicitia. Scritti dedicati a Arturo Colombo* (Milan: 2007) 586–600. On Sansovino see also Bonora E., *Ricerche su Francesco Sansovino. Imprenditore librario e letterato* (Venice: 1994) and, more recently, Sartorello L., *Le due repubbliche: Bartolo e Machiavelli in un Dialogo inedito di Francesco Sansovino. Con l'edizione del 'Dialogo della pratica della ragione'*. Introd. D. Quaglioni and F. Todescan (Florence: 2010).

22 In the German version, this is usually referred to as *der rat*, or as *der oberste und gewaltigste rat zu Nürnberg* (see the edition Scheurl, "Epistel" of 1874 in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*); in the Latin one it reads 'Senatus Noribergae' (cf. Gastel, *De statu*, cap. 2, col. 1206A); in the Italian one 'il Senato di Norimberga' (cf. Sansovino, *Del Governo*, cap. 2, fol. 177r).

23 In the German version 'der grosser rath der stat Nürnberg wirt besetzt mit eherlichen tapfern burgern, dero zaal ungewiß und nicht allemal gleich ist, sein doch derselben gemainiglich mer dan zweihundert' (see Scheurl, "Epistel", cap. 3, 787). The Latin version reads: 'Consilium majus constituunt Cives honorati [...] qui dicuntur Nominati. Horum non est numerus fixus. Numerantur tamen ferme ducenti. Hi dicuntur Nominati' (cf. Gastel, *De statu*, cap. III, col. 1206A). The Italian one: 'Il Consiglio maggiore della città è tutto de Cittadini honorati, de' quali non si ha numero certo, ne definito; ma communemente

of the 'Superior Council' and the distribution of the various offices within the body. The noble members of the Superior Council were divided into eight 'Old Appointees' and twenty-six 'Burgermeisters': seven of them were chosen to make up the 'first office' of the city, which was aptly called of the 'Seven Elders', tasked with governing the city. Three 'Captains' were chosen among the Seven Elders; two of them were called 'Treasurers' (*Losunger*), and the first of these two was, for all intents and purposes, the head of the city government.²⁴

The description of these judiciary entities is followed by that of other offices and special tasks, such as that of the mayor (called *Pfandner* and chosen by the Council), as well as those of the 'echevins', the 'craftsmen', the 'military commanders', the 'land prefects', the 'guardians of widows and pupils', the 'municipal legal advisers', and so forth. Several chapters undertake explaining the system of justice administration, which included separate tribunals for city and countryside and a sort of Supreme Court, simply called 'of the five men' (*die fünf herrn*), who were chosen from the highest city offices.²⁵ Scheurl made extensive reference to this Court in Chapter 17, in which we read that the 'five men' were competent to pass judgment, in particular, for matters concerning libel and failure to comply with the law. In these cases, they proceeded summarily, in out-of-court judgements, with no clamour and no formal constraints ('*procedunt sommarie, de plano, ac sine strepitu et figura iudicii*'),²⁶ according to a typical legal *formula* that, inspired by a passage by Ulpian, had been in force since the Age of Glossators²⁷). The 'five men' did not allow written pleadings, attorneys, and rarely accepted witness. Most of the times, they based their rulings on oaths.²⁸

sogliono esser infino a trecento, i quali Nominati si chiamano' (cf. Sansovino, *Del Governo*, cap. 3, fol. 177r).

24 See Scheurl, *Epistola ad Staupitium*, cap. 2, 7, 14 (cf. Scheurl, "Epistel" 787–795; Gastel, *De statu* col. 1206A–1208A; Sansovino, *Del Governo* fols. 177r–179v). Chapters 11 and 12 of the text discuss the role of the city treasurers and captains.

25 Cf. Scheurl, *Epistola ad Staupitium*, cap. 15–24.

26 See the Latin version of Gastel, *De statu*, cap. XVII, col. 1206A.

27 See Ulpian in D. 38, 15, 2, 1, and the relevant interpretative framework in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Concerning this well-known legal expression, see Bambi F., *Una nuova lingua per il diritto. Il lessico volgare di Andrea Lancia nelle Provvisioni fiorentine del 1355–57*, 1 (Milan: 2009) 699–670.

28 Cf. Scheurl, *Epistola ad Staupitium*, chap. 17. This is how this entire passage reads in the German version: 'Sie nemen kain schriftliche klag an, vergonen auch kainer parthey ainigen procurator oder advocaten vor inen zu geprauchten. gezeugnus horn sie selten, aber den merern thail sachen entschaiden sie durch den aide. so darf von irem urtheil niemant appellirn' (see Scheurl, "Epistel" 797); in the Latin version: 'Libellum non recipiunt,

It was not possible to appeal the rulings issued by this court, although, for most serious cases, the 'five men' reported to the Supreme Council. Scheurl valued this practice highly. The fact that the rulings issued by the court could not be appealed, Scheurl commented, was a very good thing for the city, 'well beyond what could be explained, but he trusted his readers to understand the meaning of his commentary'.²⁹ Conceivably, the meaning of this passage was to be found in the delicate and controversial relationship between the jurisdiction of the city and that of the local territorial prince; the finality of the decision issued by the City Supreme Court was the best method to allow cities unfettered judicial autonomy.

Another passage of Scheurl's epistle heads in the same direction, in which the author, discussing the administration of justice in the countryside, emphasizes 'that justice was best left to the jurisdiction of the courts of the city of Nuremberg'.³⁰ The question is important – Scheurl explains – because 'everyone follows in war the one who passes judgment on him', which was why jurisdiction over the countryside was at once a burden and a great honor for the city, and one of its levers of strength.³¹ This remark is accompanied by a clear reference to dramatic past controversies between the city of Nuremberg and Marquis Albert,³² apparently concerning the jurisdiction over these territories (part of the lands near Nuremberg had once belonged to the Upper Palatinate, before being conquered in 1504 by the city of Nuremberg, and it seemed appropriate to establish unequivocally that they should now be subject to the

Procuratorem, Advocatum adsistentem non admittunt, testimonia raro audiunt, sacramento pleraque dirimunt' (see Gastel, *De statu*, col. 1208B); in the Italian version: 'Non accettano libello. Procuratori, Avvocati, et assistenti non ammettono. Testimoni rade volte ascoltano. Il più delle volte col giuramento definiscono' (see Sansovino, *Del Governo*, fol. 180r).

29 Ibidem.

30 In those years, Nuremberg was one of the largest and most powerful imperial cities, one of the few extending its jurisdiction over large swaths of land (this is one of the most significant distinctions between Italian municipalities and German cities of the time, giving rise to other substantial differences). See Wüllner W., *Das Landgebiet der Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: 1970); Chittolini G., "Organizzazione territoriale e distretti urbani nell'Italia del tardo medioevo", in Chittolini – Willoweit (eds.), *Statuti città territori in Italia e Germania* 18–21; Berengo, *L'Europa delle città* 111–170.

31 See Scheurl, *Epistola ad Staupitium*, cap. 24.

32 Between 1499 and 1506 Albrecht von Brandenburg, as the Margrave of Brandenburg, joined his older brother Joachim I in governing the lands under his possession, and took advantage of the jurisdiction over Nuremberg to levy special administrative burdens to the lands of the countryside, which he had involved in its expansionist move against Saxony.

city's jurisdiction). However, Scheurl pointed out that rulings issued by these tribunals could be appealed before the City Council, provided that each lawsuit at hand did not exceed 600 *gulden*s, beyond which jurisdiction shifted to the Imperial Court as the higher judicial body.³³

In many respects, Scheurl's *Epistola ad Staupitium*, therefore, interestingly embodies the intertwining of two juridical-political traditions, Italian and German, that were different in many aspects, and testifies to a bilateral cultural exchange. Already by the sixteenth century, this interchange was not at all one-way (that is, flowing from Italy, the cradle of communes, to the *terrae imperii*, that had an urban political environment that was less radical and above all not interested in contesting the emperor's *dominium*), but, at least in some instances, and above all when it came to analyzing the forms of government, genuinely bijective.

3 Public Law in the Early Seventeenth Century: the 'civitates liberae' in the thought of Scipione Gentili

A less descriptive and more doctrinal reflection on cities developed most distinctly in the German lands, starting in the early seventeenth century, when the fortune of the free imperial cities began to wane, coinciding with the birth of German public law. The first *ius publicum* lecture, not only in Germany, but also in Europe, was reportedly held in 1600 at the Altdorf Law Faculty, near the imperial city of Nuremberg, by Arnold Clapmar (already Professor of History and Politics in the same faculty and author of a variety of *Disputationes de jure publico*, and of the *De arcanis rerum publicarum libri sex* treatise, his most significant work, released posthumously in Bremen in 1605).³⁴ In those years,

33 See Scheurl, *Epistola ad Staupitium* chap. 23. In the German edition: 'Von disem statgericht würt in sachen, so sechshundert gulden nicht ubertreffen, für ein erbarn rath, in denen aber so bestimpte summa ubersteigen, an das kaiserlich kamergericht appelliert' (see Scheurl, "Epistel" 801); in the Latin version: 'ab his appellantur Patres usque ad DC. aureos. Deinde Caesar. sive iudicium Imperiale' (cfr. ed. Gastel, 1209 col. B); In the Italian edition: 'Le costoro sentenze si rivolgono in appellatione a i Padri fino al termine di cinquecento scudi, non si stendendo la loro autorità nel giudicare più oltra. Hanno costoro quando si riducono, uno imperiale' (see Sansovino, *Del Governo*, cap. 23, fol. 181r).

34 Cf. the recent edition Clapmar Arnold, *De Arcanis Rerumpublicarum libri sex / Über verborgene Regeln der Staatsführung in sechs Büchern*, ed. U. Wehner (Stuttgart – Bad-Cannstatt: 2014), reviewed by Zwierlein C. in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 44, 1 (2017) 159–160. On Clapmar's brief, albeit intense, life (1574–1604) see Oestreich G., "Clapmarius Arnold", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 111 (Berlin: 1957) 260. See also Hegels H.,

Altdorf was a newly founded academy, which within a few years became a meeting point for scholars from Holland, France and Italy, eventually becoming instrumental in the development of public law in Germany.³⁵ It was here that the prominent humanist jurist Hugues Doneau³⁶ taught in the last years of his life, alongside other well-known colleagues, including two Italian natives, Giulio Pace³⁷ and Scipione Gentili, brother of the notable jurist Alberico Gentili.³⁸

Arnold Clapmarius und die Publizistik über die 'arcana imperii' im 17. Jahrhundert (Bonn: 1918); Stolleis M., *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland*, I. *Reichspublizistik und Policeywissenschaft 1600–1800* (Munich: 1988) 98–100 and 202–203; Senellart M., “Y a-t-il une théorie allemande de la raison d'Etat au XVIIe siècle? 'Arcana imperii et ratio status' de Clapmar à Chemnitz”, in Zarka Y.Ch. (ed.), *Raison et déraison d'Etat. Théoriciens et théories de la raison d'Etat aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: 1994) 265–293; Comparato V.I., “I 'simulacra imperii' in Arnold Clapmar”, in Testoni Binetti S. (ed.), *Il potere come problema nella letteratura politica della prima età moderna* (Firenze: 2005) 141–151. Among the recent studies see Stiening G., “Das Recht auf Rechtlosigkeit. Arnold Clapmarius' 'De arcanis rerumpublicarum' zwischen politischer Philosophie und Klugheitslehre”, in Marti H. – Marti – Weissenbach K. (eds.), *Nürnberg's Hochschule in Altdorf. Beiträge zur frühneuzeitlichen Wissenschafts- und Bildungsgeschichte* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2014) 191–211.

- 35 For the history of the Altdorf Law Faculty, see recently Mährle W., *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf: 1575–1623* (Stuttgart: 2000). Among the recent studies see Brennecke H.Ch. – Niefanger D. – Schnabel W.W. (eds.), *Akademie und Universität Altdorf. Studien zur Hochschulgeschichte Nürnbergs* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2011), especially the essays of Mährle W., *Die Hohe Schule in Altdorf und die europäische 'res publica litteraria' im Zeitalter des Späthumanismus*, ibidem, 29–50 and Zwierlein C., *Machiavelli in Altdorf. Zur Westorientierung von Jurisprudenz und Politikwissenschaft um 1600*, ibidem, 193–205. Also see now Marti H. – Marti – Weissenbach K. (eds.), *Nürnberg Hochschule in Altdorf*.
- 36 Doneau taught in Altdorf from 1588 until his death, three years later. On this last phase of his life, cf. Zeidler Carl Sebastian, “Spicilegium observationum vitam Hugonis Donelli [...] illustrantium ad orationem Scipionis Gentilis in funere eius habitam accommodatum”, in Doneau Hugues, *Opera omnia*, x (Lucca, Giovanni Riccomini: 1766; reprint Goldbach: 1997); idem, *Vitae professorum iuris, qui in academia Altdorffina ... vixerunt*, vol. 1 (Nuremberg, Georg Peter Monath: 1770) 63–103, and Stintzing R. von, *Hugo Donellus in Altdorf* (Erlangen: 1869).
- 37 See Bianchin L., “Giulio Pace”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 80 (2014) 75–78 and the related bibliography.
- 38 About Scipione Gentili, see De Benedictis A., “Scipione Gentili”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 53 (1999) 268–272; Mährle, *Academia Norica* 443–478; Bianchin L., “Gentili, Scipione”, in Birocchi I. – Cortese E. – Mattone A. – Miletto M.N. (eds.), *Dizionario Biografico dei Giuristi Italiani (XII–XX secolo)*, 2 vols. (Bologna: 2013), 1, 969–970, and

Scipione Gentili had fled Italy with his father and brother when he was still a young boy, for religious reasons. While Alberico had moved to England, Scipione completed his studies in Tübingen, later completing his academic training in Wittenberg and Leiden, under Hugues Doneau and Justus Lipsius. A humanist jurist, accomplished philologist and poet (among other things, translator of the Book I of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* into Latin), Scipione Gentili always showed a keen interest in Italy's juridical and literary culture, which he contributed to disseminating in the German-speaking lands.³⁹

He dedicated a chapter in his main work, the treatise *De iurisdictione libri III*, published in Frankfurt in 1601 to the free cities (*civitates liberae*).⁴⁰ The intellectual genesis of the work was provided by a preliminary legal question, namely, whether these free cities had *iurisdictio* (understood here, in essence, as a full regulatory autonomy) and, if so, under what authority and to what extent.⁴¹ Gentili's argument develops from a philological-juridical analysis of the term *civitas* and evolves into a lively comparison between Italian communes and German cities.⁴² In truth, interest in contrasting German and Italian traditions underlies Gentili's entire work.

recently Zwierlein C., "Scipione and Alberico Gentili on conspiracies around 1600" (paper presented at the sixteenth Giornata Gentiliana in San Ginesio, September 16–17, 2016).

- 39 As Giuseppe Speranza, biographer of Alberico Gentili, wrote at the end of the nineteenth century, Scipione was arguably even more famous than his brother, 'cui, se non superiore nella cognizione del diritto e nell'acutezza dell'ingegno, vinse nella purezza del dettato, nella eleganza dello stile, e nella forza della immaginazione, che lo rese anco poeta dei migliori del secolo'. Cf. Speranza, *Alberico Gentili. Studi* (Rome: 1876) 97.
- 40 Cf. Gentili Scipione, *De iurisdictione libri III* (Frankfurt a.M., Jean Wechel: 1601), later also published in Gentili, *Opera Omnia* (Naples, Jean Gravier: 1764) vol. 3, 1–435. About this treatise see Strohm Ch., *Calvinismus und Recht. Weltanschaulich-konfessionelle Aspekte im Werk reformierter Juristen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: 2008) 356–362, and Bianchin L., "Il diritto pubblico nel rinnovamento della tradizione dottrinale: il 'De iurisdictione' di Scipione Gentili (1601)", in Dilcher G. – Quaglioni D. (eds.), *Gli inizi del diritto pubblico*, 3. *Verso la costruzione del diritto pubblico tra medioevo e modernità / Die Anfänge des öffentlichen Rechts*, 3. *Auf dem Wege zur Etablierung des öffentlichen Rechts zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne* (Bologna – Berlin: 2011) 425–447.
- 41 In the vast panorama of juridical-political literature hinging on the issue of *iurisdiction*, I merely recall Calasso F., "*Iurisdiction* nel diritto comune classico", in *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, IV (Naples: 1953) 420–443, later also published in *Annali di storia del diritto* 9 (1965) 89–110; Ullmann W., *Law and Jurisdiction in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. Garnett (London: 1988), and Costa P., '*Iurisdiction*'. *Semantica del potere politico nella pubblicistica medievale: 1100–1433* (Milan: 1969; reprint 2002).
- 42 Cf. Gentili, *De iurisdictione*, lib. III, cap. 22 (*De civitatibus liberis*) 290–291.

For Gentili, the city phenomenon that had emerged in the Late Middle Ages is something new that had no precedent in Roman law, according to which all cities, apart from Rome, were private legal bodies.⁴³ Therefore, in Gentili's view, it was not correct to rely on Roman law to examine the position of medieval and modern free cities. Just as improper was the comparison, made by Accursio and other jurists, between ancient *municipia*, *villae* and *vici*, which shared little or nothing with each other (with the exception of a very mild form of *iurisdictio*), and had even less to do with the cities of his time. Suffice it to think of what juridical doctrine unanimously stated about Italian cities and republics – once abundant but by then only a few, as Gentili disappointedly remarked, that they exercised on their people and land the same power that the Emperor had on his empire.⁴⁴

If it is evident that Gentili did not agree with Bartolus' doctrine of *civitas* (instead he concurred with Baldus, who considered the city a legitimate community based on the law of the nations, regardless of the authority of a superior power),⁴⁵ he accepted the former's principle of *civitas sibi princeps*, recalling it in his commentary to the l. *infamem* of the title *De publicis iudiciis* of the Digest,⁴⁶ followed by a reference to a passage from German jurist Andreas von Gail's *Practicae observationes*, which points to Bartolus and Italian legal science, arguing that their axioms are also applicable to German cities.⁴⁷

Gentili ponders this argument, analyzing some interesting opinions.⁴⁸ He starts with Guicciardini, citing in full a passage from the his *Storia d'Italia*

43 Ibidem 290: 'Omnes civitates quantumvis magnae et opulentae privatorum loco habeantur', as confirmed by two passages of the Digest (50, 16, 15 and 50, 16, 16). Indeed, as Gentili continued, those cities were not called *civitates*, but *municipia* and *oppida*, and their magistrates, though elected among the citizens, had limited powers since those cities were not autonomous.

44 Ibidem.

45 See Quaglioni D., *Politica e diritto nel Trecento italiano: il 'De tyranno' di Bartolo da Sassoferrato, 1314–1357. Con l'edizione critica dei trattati 'De Guelphis et Gebellinis', 'De regimine civitatis' e 'De tyranno'* (Florence: 1983), and idem, "Civitas: appunti per una riflessione sull'idea di città nel pensiero politico dei giuristi medievali", in Conti (ed.), *Le ideologie della città europea* 59–76. See also Coli U., "Civitas", *Novissimo digesto italiano* vol. 3 (Turin: 1964) 337–343.

46 Cf. Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *In primam Digesti Novi partem commentaria* (Turin, Niccolò Bevilacqua: 1574), in l. *infamem*, *De publicis iudiciis* (D. 48, 1, 7), fol. 153r–v.

47 Cf. Gail Andreas von, *Practicarum observationum, tam ad processum iudicarium, praesertim Imperialis Camerae, quam causarum decisiones pertinentium, libri duo* (Antwerp, Guillaume Lesteens and Engelbert Gymnich: 1653), lib. II, observatio 57, 398–399.

48 Cf. Gentili, *De iurisdictione*, lib. III, cap. 22, 290–291.

(1561), which refers to the Diet of Constance and, in relation to the free German cities, posits: 'they call free lands those cities which, aside from certain payments levied by imperial authorities, govern themselves independently in any other matter', with their own traditions and magistrates, and 'whose goal is not to expand their borders, but to preserve their freedom'.⁴⁹

This eulogistic description of German cities would often be found thereafter in writings on free imperial cities, in addition to earning Guicciardini a great deal of appreciation in many German lands.⁵⁰ And it matters little that Guicciardini actually cited, in that passage, an opinion by Machiavelli, expressed with identical words, albeit within a broader frame, in his *Ritractio delle cose della Magna* (1512)⁵¹ and, again, in his *Discorsi* (1531).⁵² This is a fact that might preferably have been omitted, even though Gentili was well aware of it, as a reader of Machiavelli and Latin translator of a chapter of the *Discorsi*, that deals with conspiracies (Book III, chapter 6).⁵³ Moreover, the principle of 'political prudence', commonly adopted by Italian writers, suggested focusing on the 'preservation' rather than the 'enlargement' of the state, especially in the case of republics, for which peace was more suitable and congenial.

As a significant example, Giovanni Botero had already made this point clear, first in his *Delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza delle città* (Rome, 1588) and immediately afterwards in his *Ragion di Stato* (Venice, 1589), which were particularly popular in the corpus of German legal-political literature, both in the German and Latin editions.⁵⁴ The *Delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza*

49 Cf. Guicciardini Francesco, *Storia d'Italia*, ed. S. Seidel Menchi (Turin: 1971), II, lib. VII, cap. 7, p. 32.

50 See in this volume the essay of Severini M.E., "Some notes about the diffusion of Francesco Guicciardini's 'Ricordi' in Germany between the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries".

51 Cf. Machiavelli Niccolò, *Ritractio delle cose della Magna*, in idem, *Opere*, ed. C. Vivanti, I (Turin: 1997) 82: 'Ma vegnamo alle comunità franche et imperiali, che sono il nervo di quella provincia, dove è danari et ordine. Costoro per molte cagione sono per essere fredde nel provvederlo, perché la intenzione loro principale è di mantenere la loro libertà, non di acquistare imperio; et quello che non desiderono per loro, non si curono che altri lo abbia'. This passage was already contained in the *Rapporto di cose della Magna* of 1508 (ibidem, 76), of which the *Ritractio* of 1512 is a reworking.

52 Cf. Machiavelli Niccolò, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, lib. II, cap. 19, in idem, *Opere*, I, 378.

53 The Latin translation of the Machiavellian chapter is to be found in Gentili Scipione, *De conjurationibus libri duo* (Frankfurt a.M., Jean Wechel: 1600), in idem, *Opera omnia*, V (Naples, Jean Gravier: 1770) 135–154.

54 See Comparato V.I., "Modello principesco e modello repubblicano in Italia tra '500 e '600", in Bartoli Langeli A. – Comparato V.I. – Sauzet R. (eds.), *Il governo delle città. Modelli e pratiche: secoli XIII–XVIII* (Naples: 2004) 210–211; Stolleis M., "Zur Rezeption von Giovanni

delle città, which was considered ancillary if compared to Botero's much more important work,⁵⁵ became very popular in Germany, where it also circulated during the seventeenth century, in collections of philosophical-political works on the nature of cities, often followed by a work of Ippolito de' Colli⁵⁶ entitled *Incrementa urbium, sive de causis magnitudinis urbium*, which was first published in Hanau in 1600.⁵⁷ The work by von Colli is an intriguing reflection

Botero in Deutschland", in Baldini A.E. (ed.), *Botero e la 'Ragion di stato'* (Florence: 1992) 405–416, and, more recently, Descendre R., *L'état du monde. Giovanni Botero entre raison d'État et géopolitique* (Geneva: 2009).

- 55 See Botero Giovanni, *Delle cause della grandezza delle città*, ed. C. Oreglia, with an essay by L. Firpo (Florence: 2016) x–xi: First published in Rome in 1588, this work can be considered an appendix, or digression of a sort, or rather, representing a need to further deepen what Botero was at that time developing in his broader political treatise *Della ragion di Stato*, which would be published the following year in Venice. Since then, both works would always be published together, sharing dissemination and fortune, as demonstrated by numerous editions and translations into Spanish, French, Latin, German and English. On the various editions of the work, see Firpo L., "La *Ragion di Stato* di Giovanni Botero: redazione, rifacimenti, fortuna", in Clivio G.P. – Massano R. (eds.), *Civiltà del Piemonte. Studi in onore di Renzo Gandolfo nel suo settantacinquesimo compleanno* (Turin: 1975), later also published in Botero Giovanni, *Della Ragion di Stato* (reprint Bologna: 1990) 139–164. The work was also quickly translated into German, published under the title of *Iohannis Boteri Gründlicher Bericht von Anordnung guter Policeyen und Regiments auch Fürsten und Herrn Standes* (Strasbourg, Lazarus Zetzner: 1596). The subsequent Latin edition, published in Strasbourg by Zetzner in 1602, is a translation of this German edition.
- 56 Ippolito de' Colli (Zurich, 1561 – Heidelberg 1612), a jurist born of an old Italian family (originally from the province of Alexandria, which then fled to Switzerland for religious reasons) studied in Italy and Basel, where he graduated in *utroque iure* in 1583. Professor of Law in Basel and Heidelberg immediately thereafter, de' Colli eventually began to practice law and engage in politics in 1589, first as *syndicus* in Basel, and later as legal advisor to Prince Christian I of Anhalt Bernburg and to the Prince-Electors of Palatinate, Frederick IV and Frederick V, in the service of whom he held numerous offices, including that of Chairman of the Court Tribunal (starting in 1593). He also carried out many sensitive diplomatic missions that led him to the most important European courts (in Poland, France, London, Prague, and so forth). Colli's most important writings, published under a variety of pseudonyms (Sinibaldus Ubaldus, Johann Werner Gebhart, and Pompejus Lampugnans), include the *Nobilis* (1588), *Princeps* (1593), *Palatinus sive Aulicus* and *Consiliarius* (1596). On many occasions, these works were published together, until the last edition edited by Martin Neurath in 1670. Other noteworthy works are the *Fürstliche Tischreden* (1598) and a critical work against Lipsius (1602). In this regard, see Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum iureconsultorum et politicorum, qui superiori seculo et quod excurrat floruerunt* (Frankfurt am Main – Heidelberg, Jonas Rosa: 1620) 451–454.
- 57 Among various works of similar topic and inspiration, see also Besold Christoph, *Discursus politicus de incrementis Imperiorum* (Strasbourg, Lazarus Zetzner: 1623).

on the nature and the fate of cities, which was spawned by Botero's treatise, whose spirit the Italian-Swiss jurist had already embraced in other works of a certain resonance, such as the *Consiliarius* (1596), heavily influenced by the *Cortegiano* by Baldassarre Castiglione.⁵⁸

Colli's work on cities, though being deft, and in line with Botero's approach, is however accompanied by a series of notes (which were increasingly added to and updated in the work's subsequent editions, in particular by Martin Neurath), which, topic after topic, review the opinions of a wide range of doctrinal authorities, from Baldus de Ubaldis and the Italian legal tradition to Carlo Sigonio, Machiavelli, Bellarmino, Julius Caesar Scaliger, Alberico Gentili, Jean Bodin, Pierre Grégoire, Lambert Daneau, Johannes Althusius, Christoph Besold, Bartholomäus Keckermann, Johann Basilius Herold, Tobias Paurmeister, Paul Matthias Wehner and many more. In this sense, Colli is noteworthy among those authors who, in the years around the turn between the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries importantly served as mediators between the Italian and German legal and political cultures.

For sure – so writes Gentili in his analysis – emperors granted these free cities vast privileges as well as jurisdiction (in the form of *ius gladii* or *merum imperium*), which, in my view, making them comparable to the Italian republics. But it is also true that almost all German cities exercised such *merum imperium* 'in the name of Caesar', through magistrates and judges they call 'cesarean', although some of them, as an exceptional privilege, were granted permission to appoint their own judicial authorities, rather than receive them by imperial designation.⁵⁹ For this reason, the German jurist Ulrich Zasius believed, and rightly so, that these city magistrates lacked the *merum imperium*, that is, a truly independent jurisdiction, because they exercised it in the name of the Emperor or in the name of the city, but always by effect of a privilege that was bestowed on them by the Emperor.⁶⁰

In reality – in Gentili's view – the case of Italian cities is a bit different, and, in particular, that of Lombard cities, which in disputes with the Emperor often buttressed their claims with references to not only the Emperor's granting of

58 See Burke P., *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: 1995) 88 and 149, who includes them among those works, many of them produced in the sixteenth century, whose aim was to turn an open reflection into a manual or instruction book.

59 Gentili, *De iurisdictione*, lib. III, cap. 22, 291.

60 Cf. Zasius Ulrich, *Commentaria [...] in titulos primae Pandectarum partis*, in idem, *Opera omnia* (Frankfurt am Main, Feyerabend: 1590), t. I, in *l. imperium*, *De iurisdictione* (D. 2, 1, 3), fol. 14.

privileges, as German cities did, but also to the custom and proof of the prescription of imperial rights, and, thus juridical rights that were independent of the Emperor's will. In any event, the rights of those cities were confirmed by Frederick I in the Peace of Constance (1183).⁶¹ Moreover, Gentili concluded, 'there is no doubt that all these public and, even more, private law matters do not ultimately have such relevance in the vicissitudes of kingdoms and people, since what prevails over everything, proving to be decisive, are factions, concessions and covenants, and, more often, the right of arms'.⁶²

Scipione Gentili's considerations on free cities will be among the most cited in subsequent German legal and political literature, starting with Althusius,⁶³ who turned the notion of *civitas* into a cornerstone of his political theory, influenced by Christoph Besold⁶⁴ and Johannes Limnäus (himself a pupil of Scipione Gentili in Altdorf and author of the first great treatise *De iure publico Imperii*, which gives broad space to the theme of imperial cities),⁶⁵ until Hermann Conring, the most authoritative representative of German public law in the seventeenth century,⁶⁶ and the great works on imperial cities completed by Johann Jakob Moser in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁷

61 Cf. Gentili, *De iurisdictione*, lib. III, cap. 22, 291, with sweeping reference to Italian law, from Bartolus de Saxoferrato to Nicolò de' Tudeschi, nicknamed the *Panormitanus*, and Alberto Bruni.

62 Ibidem.

63 Cf. Althusius Johannes, *Politica methodice digesta* (Herborn, Georg Rab: 1614), cap VI, 83.

64 Cf. Besold Christoph, *Dissertatio de iure universitatum*, cap. 5, in idem, *Operis politici ... editio nova* (Strasbourg, Lazarus Zetzner: 1626) 229–230, repeatedly cites Scipione Gentili for his sharp philological reflections on terms such as *urbs*, *oppidum* and so forth. See also Besold Christoph – Dapp Johann Adam, *Dissertatio collectanea, de civitatibus Germaniae liberis, et mixtis* (Tübingen, Eberhard Wild: 1621). Historian, jurist and theoretical politician, professor of law in Tübingen first and in Ingolstadt later, Besold studied the *civitates liberae* in a variety of subsequent works, in particular in his *Discursus politici* (1623), *Discursus III*, focused on democracy, and in the *Synopsis Politicae Doctrinae* (1637), which covers a variety of considerations contained in these pages.

65 Cf. Limnäus Johannes, *De iure publico Imperii romano-germanici* (Strasbourg, Friedrich Spoor and Johannes Beyer: 1645), t. III, cap. 7.

66 Cf. Conring Hermann, *De finibus imperii Germanici*, in idem, *Opera omnia* (Braunschweig, Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer: 1730; reprint Aalen, Scientia: 1973), t. I, 462.

67 Moser Johann Jakob, *Reichsstädtisches Handbuch* (Tübingen, Johann Jakob Moser: 1732–1733), a sort of dictionary of imperial cities, and the impressive *Von der Reichs-Städtischen Regiments-Verfassung* (Frankfurt a.M. – Leipzig, Johann Benedikt Metzler: 1772), which analyses their constitutions.

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French-Dutch Connections: The Transalpine Reception of Machiavelli

Cornel Zwierlein

Until today the first known direct references to Machiavelli north of the Alps appear in a letter of Angelo Odoni written in 1535 from Strasbourg to Erasmus. Therein he praised the writings of the Florentine and his anti-papal position in the *Discorsi* and asks for translations and further editions. This embedding of Machiavelli in latinizing humanist and heterodox circles continued well until the end of the sixteenth century. But only with the work of another religious refugee from Italy, Silvestro Tegli, who – returning from Oxford with Vermigli to Zurich, then to Geneva and finally to Basel – published a first Latin translation, did the author become easily available for the Central European learned republic starting in 1560. It was ‘Central European’ indeed, as it was dedicated to the Polish nobleman Abraham Zbaski. In so doing, he continued the tradition of a close connection between Erasmus’ Basel and Polish humanism (initiated by Erasmus’ exchange with the Laski brothers in the 1520s). Italian migrants and later German teachers and authors of the *Politica* tradition actively contributed to the East-West exchange in that field. Usually one follows the line of reception from Strasbourg and Basel northwards in a narrative concentrating immediately on Germany and Central Europe itself.¹ But between

1 A more traditional perspective which I have followed earlier myself, neglecting both parts of the Northwestern contributions to the European picture of the complex ways of Machiavelli’s reception, cf. for instance Zwierlein C., “Machiavellismus und italienisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im 16./17. Jahrhundert”, in idem – Meyer A. (eds.), *Machiavellismus in Deutschland. Chiffre von Kontingenz, Herrschaft und Empirismus in der Neuzeit* (Munich: 2010) 23–59.

Abbreviations used in the following: AGRBru = Archives du Royaume Bruxelles; CdT = Conseil des troubles; Abbreviations: Knuttel = Knuttel W.P.C., *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (The Hague: 1890–1920; reprint, Utrecht: 1978); Tiele = [Tiele P.A.], *Bibliotheek van pamfletten, traktaten, plakkaaten en andere stukken over de Nederlandsche geschiedenis [...] Beschrijving der verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam, van het begin der 16de tot het midden der 18de eeuw*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: 1856–1861); Wulp = Wulp J.K. van der, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam:

1535 (Odoni) and the 1560s (Tegli) the first traces of reception of Machiavelli by 'Northerners' are to be found in the quadrangular connections of the first French translations from the Italian, their diffusion in the Netherlands and their impact right onto the Empire. Here, Machiavelli is first less connected with the Italian migrants, yet still with a slightly Protestant flavor or an Irenic Catholicism. This chapter thus argues that we have to first reconstruct the Western French-Dutch 'Machiavellian' transfers and references within the context of their respective wars of religion. From that perspective, we will be better able to explain the two-fold and double-binded character of references to, and reception of, Machiavelli, enhanced by Italian heterodox migrants as well as by italianizing German authors and men of politics. This specific character of the Central European 'Machiavelli' from roughly 1550 to 1620 is due to its dependency on its mediation from the West on the one hand and on elements of direct reception and latinizing and transformation from the South on the other.

Let us first take a look at the early reception of Machiavelli in the Netherlands (1.1). We will then turn to the Dutch-French interconnections of pamphlet publishing from the 1560s to the 1580s regarding Machiavellian references and allusions (1.2 and 3) before then concentrating on the Central European area (2).

1 Machiavelli in the Netherlands (Sixteenth Century)

The articles of V. Brants (1914), Eco Haitisma Mulier (1990), remarks by Giuliano Proccacci (1995), the different contributions of Paul van Heck, certain comments of Martin van Gelderen in his book of 1992 and more recently the article of Francesca Terrenato about the context of the first translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* into Dutch (2010) nearly represent the complete bibliography, at least on the *early* times of Machiavelli's reception in the Netherlands.² Besides those

1866–1868); Someren = Someren J.F. van, *Pamfletten (in de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht) niet voorkomende in afzonderlijke gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1915–1922).

2 Brants V, "Le Prince de Machiavel dans les anciens Pays-Bas", in Remy E. – Moeller Ch. – Maere R. – Doutrepoint G. – Cauchie A. – Bethune M.M.F. (eds.), *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son jubilé de 50 années de professorat à l'université de Louvain*, 2 vols. (Louvain – Paris: 1914) vol. 2, 87–99; Mulier E.H., *Het Nederlandse gezicht van Machiavelli. Twee en een halve eeuw interpretatie 1550–1800* (Hilversum 1989); idem, "A controversial republican: Dutch views on Machiavelli in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in Bock G. – Skinner Q. – Viroli M. (eds.), *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge: 1990) 247–264; nearly nothing about the Dutch repercussions in Procacci G., *Machiavelli*

dense articles, as to my knowledge, no monograph exists that would contain an exhaustive study of all political pamphlets at that time concerning elements of ‘machiavellism’.

As always in the study of the history of machiavellism, one has to first distinguish carefully between real textual reception, translations or discussions of clearly identifiable Machiavellian topoi and text passages in an (at least partial) affirmative³ or (much more often) negative way,⁴ the use of Machiavelli's name in texts that speak of ‘machiavellians’ or ‘machiavellistes’, so, texts where Machiavelli is just used as a cipher for unprincipled politics.⁵ Sometimes under

nella cultura europea dell'età moderna (Bari – Rome: 1995) 274–275; Gelderen M. van, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: 1992) 276–283 (but rather general or with regard only to Lipsius); idem, “The Machiavellian Moment and the Dutch Revolt: The rise of Neostoicism and Dutch Republicanism”, in Bock G. – Skinner Q. – Viroli M. (eds.), *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge: 1990) 205–223 (mostly about Lipsius); Heck P. van, “La prima traduzione in olandese dei Discorsi e del Principe”, in Marchand J.-J. (ed.), *Niccolò Machiavelli: politico, storico, letterato* (Rome: 1996) 411–425; Terrenato F., “The first Dutch translation”, in Pol R. de (ed.), *The First Translations of Machiavelli's Prince. From the Sixteenth to the first Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam – New York 2010) 171–206; finalizing this piece that was first sent around in late 2016 among the contributors to this volume in a draft version, after discussion of it at Padova, Alberto Clerici sent me the proofs of his forthcoming article “Trust, Heresy and Rebellion: Reactions to Machiavelli in the early Dutch Revolt (1572–1587)”, in L. Kontler – M. Somos (eds.), *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought* (Leiden – Boston, Brill: forthcoming 2018) 257–280 for which I am very grateful, it is a good complementary reading for the first part of this chapter.

- 3 Here have to be named Charles v, Fox Murcillo 1550s, Furió y Ceriol 1550s, Justus Lipsius, Aggaeus Albada, Corneliszoon Hooft 1632, Johan and Pieter De la Court 1660/1661, Spinoza (Mulier, *A controversial republican* 248; Gelderen, *The Machiavellian Moment* 209, Terrenato, *The first Dutch translation* 180).
- 4 Heinsius Daniel, *Oratio VII de civili sapientia* (Leiden, s.n.: 1615); Barlaeus Caspar, *Dissertatio de bono principe, adversus Nic. Machiavelli* (Amsterdam, Willem Blaeu: 1633); Schoock Marten, *Politicus pius* (Groningen, Jan Cöllén: 1664); idem, *De seditionibus, seu discordiis domesticis libri tres* (Groningen, Frans Bonchorst: 1664); Vrye politieke stellingen en consideratien van staat (Amsterdam, Pieter Arentsz Raep: 1665); Valkenier Pieter, *T Verwerd Europa* (Amsterdam, Hendrick and Dirk Boom: 1675); Vries Simon de, *De geheele weereld* (Amsterdam, Jan Bouman: 1686) voor-beright – cf. Mulier, *A controversial republican* 249; Heck P. van, “Cymbalum Politicorum, Consultor Dolosus. Two Dutch Academics on Niccolò Machiavelli”, *Intersections – Yearbook of Earl Modern Studies* 2 (2002) 47–64.
- 5 One may cite here Verheyden Willem, *Nootelijcke consideration* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1587), which will be interpreted later on more closely and many other pamphlets where the Spaniards are entitled as “Machiavelliques”, cf. Gelderen, *The Machiavellian Moment* 219; Geurts P.A.M., *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten* (Nijmegen – Utrecht: 1956) 16–154, here 179, 269, 272.

that umbrella one also includes neoscholastic treatises like those by Pedro de Rivadeneira, Leonardus Lessius, Johann Lensaeus, Carolus Scribani, Thomas Stapleton, but in several of those treatises, Machiavelli is not even cited as an example of unscrupulous politics.⁶ Some of those authors indeed lived and wrote those texts in the (Spanish) Netherlands, others wrote them in Spain and they were still read, printed and distributed in the North due to Spain's underdevelopment of its own printing culture and its long dependency on what would become Belgium, foremost Antwerp. Those works – often written by Jesuits – were important for the German and Central European discussion and the Catholic contribution to, and part of, the *Politica* discussion – for instance through the Catholic universities and printing cities of Cologne, Mainz, Ingolstadt/Dillingen and Munich. They would therefore fit more properly in the section below (2.2) and we have to first concentrate on the vernacular reception in its earliest stage.⁷ One could think of a third category of texts being linked to Machiavelli and Machiavelli's reception in the Netherlands in a more general way that cannot be enumerated in the same way as a definite number of works. There have been attempts to identify a certain form of Republicanism and 'Republican moment,' if I may say so, in certain political tracts under the main headline of 'The Machiavellian moment and the Dutch Revolt' (van Gelderen); treatises directed against 'politics' have also been treated as being antimachiavellian (Goosens); treatises and texts like Aggaeus Albada's that reference the *De principatu* of Mario Salomonio (1514, new edition 1578 by Jacopo Corbinelli using citations from Machiavelli in the appendix) have been enumerated in that context.⁸ But there are some problems

6 This is the case for Lensaeus and Stapleton, the latter does cite explicitly only Bodin as 'neopoliticus', cf. Ribadeneyra Pedro de, *Princeps Christianus adversus Nicolaum Machiavellum* (Mainz, Conrad Butgen: 1603, first Spanish 1597); Lessius Leonard, *De providentia numinis et animi immortalitate libri duo* (Antwerp: Plantin widow and son Jean Moret: 1613); Lensaeus Johannes, *De libertate christiana libri quindecim* (Antwerp: widow Christoph Plantin: 1590); Scribanus Carolus, *Politicus christianus liber I* (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius, 1626); Stapleton Thomas, *Oratio Academica. An Politici horum temporum in numero christianorum sint habendi* (Munich, s.n.: 1607); Goosens A., "Machiavélisme, antimachiavélisme, tolérance et répression religieuses dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (seconde moitié du XVIe siècle)", in Dierkens A. (ed.), *L'antimachiavélisme, de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Brussels: 1997) 71–83, here 75–76.

7 Certainly, to give an exception of that general rule, in Lensaeus, *De libertate christiana* 683–685, besides general theological dogmatism there are also references to the 1579 Cologne conference where Albada argued for religious freedom.

8 Gelderen, *The Machiavellian Moment* 220 – I would add that it is highly probable that in 1581 Albada used the recent re-publication of Salomonio's work of 1578. This would strengthen

with such a generic and wide concept of 'machievellism' in the Low Countries. In the end, one might end up even equating Lipsius with Machiavelli, but to treat the whole Neostoic way of reasoning with a 'Machiavellian tradition' is as true as it is false. Nevertheless one cannot deny that, especially regarding the reception of Machiavelli, studies can never rely only on direct citations or the naming of Machiavelli. This is because the author was put on the 1559 Roman index and the growing stereotypical classification of him as a 'Satanic author'. Therefore the more differentiated reception of Machiavelli, for example of his method rather than of his 'content', sometimes had to necessarily bypass the name or a direct citation.⁹

In view of this state of research and my own findings, I would distinguish five chronological steps of Machiavelli's reception in the Netherlands, of which we are only interested in the first three in this context:

- An early reception of his texts, mainly read in early French translations, perhaps also in original Italian and later in the Latin editions (1540s to 1560s)
- A critical mostly negative reception in academic political discourse which imitated here the German/Central European method of academic disputations and treatises on *Politica*, starting with Lipsius and flourishing at Dutch universities from Leuven to Groningen (1589–1630s)
- The use of 'Machiavelli' as cipher for amoral, even 'satanic' politics, starting in the 1570s and in an even more abstract way, less related to the Florentine's texts themselves, from the 1660s to ca. 1720
- The real republicanist use of (some elements of) Machiavelli from the 1660s onwards (de la Court, Spinoza)
- The less well-researched eighteenth century during which referring to 'Machiavelli' became possible without scandal and necessarily polarizing forms of discourse, and when a new translation like that of Ghys betrays more interest in philological scrutiny than polemical functionalization.

1.1 *Enter Machiavelli*

Machiavelli entered the Netherlands, the earliest northern 'host' country of the figuratively travelling Florentine, by way of French translations from the late 1540s onwards. One of the most important counselors of Charles V, Lazarus of Schwendi (who entered the emperor's service in 1545), bought a copy of *Le premier liure des discours de l'Estat de paix et de guerre, de messire Nicolas*

the otherwise shaky argument a little bit because that publication was made by Jacobo Corbinelli and he explicitly used Machiavelli's works in his annotations.

9 For some remarks on that cf. Zwierlein, "Machiavellismus und italienisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer".

Macchiavegli [...] *Sur la premiere decade de Tite Liue*, translated by Jacques Gohory and printed in 1544 in Paris in the city of Brussels where Schwendi was member of the emperor's entourage and court. This copy is today preserved in the municipal library of Colmar and bears the inscription 'Sum Lazari de Suenden. anno Dnj M.D.XLVIII. Calend. Decemb. Bruxell. * Instat A.M.A.I.S.'¹⁰ Schwendi's annotations (in Latin) on that copy betray a thorough and critical reading, condemning Machiavelli at several points morally, but also considering with great interest his method of analysing and using history. If one bears in mind this early 'training', one reads his later handwritten political discourses of the 1570s, often addressed to emperor Maximilian II, regarding military reforms and the status of the Empire as a whole, differently. It seems that he gradually became a follower of Machiavelli – and only of the *Discourses* of Machiavelli – while remaining a post-Erasmian Christian humanist tending undecidedly toward Philippist or even Reformed beliefs.¹¹ It seems that his purchase of Machiavelli's works in Brussels at that time was no chance or exception, but rather representative for the early diffusion of the author.

This becomes evident from inventories of bookstores which were inspected between March 1569 and July 1570 by the commissioners of the Inquisition by order of Alba's newly founded infamous *Conseil des troubles*. The archives of this notorious 'bloody council' do not only concern the persecution of persons,¹² but also of prohibited books. The more immediate context were the composition of two provincial *Catalogi librorum prohibitorum*: first a renewed version of the Tridentine index at the University of Louvain by Benito Arias Montano and Jodocus Tiletanus at Alba's request in 1568, published in 1569, and second the preparations for a still larger and more complete index that a commission, inaugurated on May 18, 1569, should elaborate, consisting of Arias Montano, bishop Franciscus Van de Velde (Sonnius) of Bois-le-Duc and Antwerp, Tiletanus (i.e. Josse Ravesteyn of Tielt), the dean of Sainte-Gudule at Brussels, Laurent de Mets, the famous humanist lawyer Viglius van Zuichem and the duke's confessor, the Franciscan Alonso de Contreras.¹³ This led first to the 1570 (and then to the 1571) Index of Antwerp. It is within this context of

10 Baillet L., Schwendi. Lecteur de Machiavel, *Revue d'Alsace* 112 (1986) 119–197, here 120s.

11 Zwierlein C., *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkraumen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: 2006) 709–716

12 Goosens A., *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux 1520–1633*, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1997/98).

13 Calster G. van, "La censure louvaniste du Nouveau Testament et la rédaction de l'Index érasmien expurgatoire de 1571", in Coppens J., *Scrinium Erasmianum* (Leiden, Brill: 1969) 379–436, here 386–388.

preparing a precise overview of what sorts and quantities of heretical books were circulating in the Netherlands, and of deciding which of them had to be prohibited, that the Duke of Alva asked the commissioners of the Inquisition to examine the bookshops in the province of Hainaut, in the cities of Mons, Courtrai, Tournai, Malines, St. Omer and probably other municipalities. The lists of books produced by those visitations represent the earliest, largest and most representative overview of what was publicly sold and available in a region that was a nexus for the transfer of books between France, the Netherlands and Germany. Many long lists of confiscated books have been preserved from that 'raid' and they do tell more about the actual possession and circulation of books than the *indices* themselves, the latter just being prohibitive norms. Machiavelli is not present neither in the Spanish (1551, 1554, 1559), the Louvain ones (1546, 1550, 1558), nor in the final Antwerp Index (1569, 1570, 1571). He only entered into the central Roman 1559 index as an author *prima classis* and in the Roman 1564 index as an author whose work was entirely forbidden.¹⁴ It is therefore of interest to see how his works were still sold freely even at the eve of St. Bartholomew's massacre – when, as one has to remember – the preparations for an assault of Northern French or Southern Dutch cities in that region by the Huguenots presumably organized without the king's consent in spring 1572¹⁵ was one of the main reasons for the heated atmosphere and for the eventual royal decision leading to the massacre. This then formed a well-known threshold and epochal shift within the history of machiavellianism as a discourse, because, during the explosion of pamphlets after the massacre, the Protestants started to use the cipher of 'Machiavelli(an)' for the description of the presumed royal plotting and tyrannical planning of that inhuman deed.¹⁶

In a city like Mons, the bookshops were stocked with nearly everything printed in French in the 1540s to the 1560s – from religious texts to history,

14 The censorship history of Machiavelli is complex: The Roman perspective has been well established by Procacci, *Machiavelli* 83–121 and now by Godman P., *From Poliziano to Machiavelli. Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (Princeton 1998) 303–333. There were constant requests for special reading permissions to the Index congregation and the Venetian presses continued to print him with fictitious and anonymous imprints; Florentine and other humanists asked several times from the 1560s to the 1590s to produce emended allowed versions of his works. This censorship history is less well researched for the other European countries in contexts like that of the Spanish inquisition or here the Spanish-Dutch one.

15 Cf. below section 1.3.

16 Cf. Zwierlein C., "Machiavellismus / Antimachiavellismus", in Jaumann H. (ed.), *Diskurse der Gelehrtenkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: 2010) 903–951, here 916–922.

politics and poetic works (Ronsard, du Bellay, Pasquier, Amadis de Gaule). The list of the 'good French books' that were found in May 1569 (Gregorian date) in the houses of the librarians in the city of Mons comprised of ca. 900 different titles;¹⁷ the list of the Latin books only enumerates 10 books. The list of the dangerous and prohibited books found in Mons names ca. 150 books. Here, we find in the list of the 'good French books' the following entries:

Le premier Liure de la premiere decade de Tite Liue traduit de Latin en francoys par Jacques Gohori parisien A Paris chez Gillis Corrozet 1540.¹⁸

Instructions sur le fait de laguerre extraictes de Liures de Polibe, Frontin, Vegece Cornazan, Machiauel et plusieurs autres bons auteurs A Paris chez Michel Vascosan 1549.¹⁹

(The first book of the first decade of Titus Livy translated from Latin into French by Jacques Gohory from Paris, printed at Paris by Gilles Corrozet 1540.

Instructions concerning the art of war excerpted from the books of Polybius, Frontinus, Vegetius, Cornazzano, Machiavelli and several other good authors. Printed at Paris by Michel Vascosan 1549.)

The first entry would surely not point to Gohory's 1544 translation of Machiavelli's *Discorsi* of which Schwendi bought a copy in Brussels, because this was printed by Denys Janot.²⁰ We know that Gohory was working already earlier on a translation of the first book of the Livian Decades as 'commented' by Machiavelli and that he presented a manuscript of that on August 6, 1544 probably to Anne de Montmorency. As there is no misreading of the date (1540) possible, this would either point to the existence of an hitherto unknown first print of Gohory's translation of decade 1,1 of which we actually

17 *Inuentoire des Liures bons trouues es maisons des libraires jures de la ville de Mons visites par Messrs M. Jean Bonhomme Inquisiteur de la Foy au pays et Conte de Hainaut M. Pierre de Behault Licentie en Theologie, M. Jean de Glarges bachelier forme et M. Francois Robert Escheuin dudit Mons ce XVI^{me} de Mars 1568* (AGRBru CdT 22, pp. 32–63). The date '1568' means '1569' as according to the old style Brabant computus the year started with Easter. The investigation was thus probably effectuated in application of the already published Antwerp Index of 1569. Cf. Calster, "La censure louvaniste" 387 n. 29.

18 AGRBru CdT 22, p. 59.

19 AGRBru CdT 22, p. 60.

20 Bertelli S., *Bibliografia Machiavelliana* (Verona: 1979) Nr 65; cf. for a copy owned by Anne de Montmorency Bianchi Bensimon N., "La première traduction française" in Pol (ed.), *The First Translations*, 25–57, here 36 n. 26.

know only a print from 1548 (by Corrozet), or the inquisition's clerk badly mistook a '1548' for '1540'.²¹ The second entry shows that also in the Netherlands the first work diffused which comprised (and developed) the learnings from Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra*, was not a translation of this text itself but the *Instructions* attributed to Martin or Guillaume du Bellay, but probably written by Fourquevaux.²² Finally in the list of 'forbidden books' that were found at Mons on May 16, 1569 (Gregorian dating),²³ we read the entry

Le prince de Nicolas Machiavelle traduit d'Italien en Francoys par
Guillaume Cappel a Paris pour Charles Estienne 1553.²⁴

The Prince of Niccolò Machiavelli translated from Italian into French by
Guillaume Cappel, printed in Paris by Charles Estienne.

In fact, neither the first 1558 Louvain index nor the here alleged 1569 index of Montano-Tiletanus did contain Machiavelli, so that entry, and the way the commissioners proceeded, shows how its recognition as a forbidden book rather emerged during the inquisition's work than vice versa. In other cities and libraries that were investigated by the commissioners of the *Conseil des troubles*, the (mostly much smaller) inventories do not list a single book of Machiavelli.²⁵ But the number of inventories is not very high and concerns only towns of the Southern Netherlands in the larger ambit of Brussels.

21 Anglo S., *Machiavelli. The First Century* (Oxford: 2005) 204.

22 Procacci, *Machiavelli* 185–212; Anglo, *Machiavelli* 31f.

23 *Catalogus librorum prohibitorum qui inventi sunt Montibus Hannoniae apud Bibliopolas et visitati per praefatos Dominos die decima sexta Martij 1568. Libri per Regiam Maiestatem Anno 1558 prohibiti* (AGRBru CdT 22, p. 63–69), cf. Bujanda J.M. de (ed.), *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558* (Sherbrooke – Geneva: 1986).

24 AGRBru CdT 22, p. 66. Bertelli, *Bibliografia*, Nr 102. Cf. for that translation Bianchi Bensimon, "La première traduction française" 52–54 and Anglo, *Machiavelli* 194–198.

25 Inventory of Mathieu Ribault à Aize (AGRBru CdT 22); the catalogue of books that were found in a ton in Tournay (mostly clandestine Calvinist works) (AGRBru CdT 24); inventory of the books of Antoine Ghemaert, called Schmiereys and his brother Roger in Courtrai, March 16, 1568 [i.e. 1569] (AGRBru CdT 25) – only a 'Titus Liuius Epithome' could point to something similar); the inventory of books of Jean Mynskeeren in Mechelen, March 23/24, 1568 [i.e. 1569] (AGRBru CdT 26 [no fol.]); Inventory of books not prohibited in the library of Alexandre Alard at St. Omer, March 29, 1569 [i.e. 1570] (AGRBru CdT 27 [no fol.]); the summarizing compilation *Catalogues des livres trouvés dans les boutiques des libraires des diverses villes du Hainaut en 1568 et 1569* [i.e. 1569/1570] (AGRBru CdT 31 [no fol.]).

Nevertheless the findings seem to be quite representative: If Machiavelli was received he was read in French translation, not in Italian – although the Dutch merchants were always educated as polyglots, and although the Netherlands are truly the cradle of European foreign language education. Among those languages was also always Italian which was important for commerce with Italy and the Mediterranean.²⁶ However, the very small quantity of Italian books in the inventories reveals that one was still preferring translations in the North for works of higher learning: Italian poetry, Petrarch, Boccaccio *et alii* were read rather in French translation than in the original. The first Latin translations of Machiavelli's work – the Tegli translation of 1560 – does not appear in these inventories and catalogues, which is not a definite proof for its non-distribution in the Netherlands, but it goes hand in hand with the observation that the Latin reactions to Machiavelli in the Dutch world do not start before Lipsius and grow in importance only around 1600 – chronologically quite in parallel with the German *politica*-literature. Language distribution changes at that time: Paul van Heck has shown that in seventeenth century private libraries, the *Discorsi* and the *Prince* were the most prominent and diffused Italian texts; nearly the half of all 300 catalogues analyzed by him contain the *Discorsi*. At that time, 47% of those *Discorsi* copies were in Latin, 20% were in French, 19% in Dutch, but only 14% in Italian.²⁷ So it seems that, at the end of the sixteenth century, Latin overtook French and Dutch as the 'Machiavellian language', but first he arrived as a Frenchized vernacular author in the same channels of pamphlet and book distribution that were so important for the religious and political propaganda during the turning point of the French wars of religion, the cruel tightening of the Dutch situation after the *wonderjaar* of 1566, and Alva's establishment in 1568. Those observations are confirmed by the fact that even the first Dutch translation of the *Principe* and the *Discorsi* are not made from the Italian original but from French translations by Gohory and Gaspar of Auvergne.²⁸ Machiavelli's reception was working in a quite differentiated way: the *Discorsi* seem to be easily available around 1550 and also the long handwritten Latin annotations by Schwendi do not show any consciousness of the book owner that Machiavelli was already renowned as a satanic

26 Cf. Zwierlein C., "Religionskriegsmigration, Französischunterricht, Kulturtransfer und Zeitungsproduktion im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Francia* 37 (2010) 97–129.

27 Heck P.A.W. van, "Libri italiani nelle biblioteche private olandesi del Seicento", in Cesati F. (ed.), *L'italiano oltre frontiera. V. Convegno Internazionale (Leuven, 22–25 aprile 1998)*, 2 vols. (Leuven: 2000) vol. 2, 293–109, here 100, 104.

28 Heck, *La prima traduzione* 413.

heretic beyond all possible acceptance.²⁹ Even during the bookshop raids one could still distinguish at the end of the 1560s between the 'good expert' of war and the commentator of Livy on the side of the 'good books', and the *Prince* only on the side of the 'bad books'.

1.2 *Machiavellian Huguenots Regarding the Netherlands*

As in nearly all European countries, foremost the Protestant ones, the shock of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre had a decisive impact in shifting how Machiavelli was read, perceived, and used. The Netherlands were no exception.

The two Western wars of Religion in France and in the Netherlands were closely connected even before the 1570s; the national framing of historiography often misleads us here. In the 1560s, the Condé party produced propaganda for their cause in the Netherlands as in England and Germany,³⁰ and many pamphlets tend to explicitly associate the situation and figures in both parts of Europe, such as in *Cort verhael op de middelen die de Cardinael van Lorainen heeft ghehouden ende gebruyct [...] om groot te maken zijn huys [...] (A short account of the means that the cardinal of Lorraine has used to make his house great)*.³¹ The editor and/or translator of that pamphlet precisely correlated the French and Dutch situations: just as the Guise/Lorraine party in France was tyrannizing France by overwhelming the weak king, in the Netherlands, the 'onmenschelijck [...] Tyran (*the inhuman tyrant*)' the Duke of Alba was 'misbruyckende die goede ende soete ingeboren nature vanden Coninck van Spangien Philippo (*was abusing the good and sweet inborn nature of the king of Spain Philip*)'. Like the Guise/Lorraine party in France, the Spaniards tried to depopulate ('depopuleren') the Netherlands and to bring 'onder hare tijrannie/

29 As it was already the case around 1536 outside of Italy in Reginald Pole's (but not in Thomas Cromwell's) reading – but the *Apologia* was not published before the eighteenth century, cf. Donaldson P.S., *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* (Cambridge 1988) 1–35; Anglo, *Machiavelli* 115–142.

30 Cf. Zwierlein C., "Une propagande huguenote internationale: Le début des guerres de religion en France perçues en Allemagne, 1560–1563", in Mellet P.-A. – Foa J. (eds.), *Le bruit des armes. Mises en formes et désinformations pendant les guerres de Religion (1560–1610)* (Paris: 2012) 397–415.

31 *Cort verhael op de middelen die de Cardinael van Lorainen heeft ghehouden ende gebruyct [...] om groot te maken zijn huys/ gheslachte ende afcoemste/ met de verderffenisse vande Croon ende Conincricke van Vrancrijck [...] Ouerghesedt wt de Fransoysche inde Nederlantsche tale/ wt een Boecxken in Septembri An. 1568. in Vrancrijck wt ghegheuen/ door den doorluchtighen hoochgeboren Prince Loys/ Hertoch van Bourbon/ Prince van Conde/ etc.* (s.l., s.n.: 1568).

ende slauernije/ onder schijn / dixel ende name vande Religie/ die sy noemen de Catholijcque Religie (*under their tyranny and slavery under the pretext, umbrella and name of the religion that they call the Catholic religion*)' the whole land under their command.³² As in the French original, there is no explicit reference to Machiavelli, but the opposition of 'tyranny' and of tyrannical political aims and means disguised by religion is the crucial contrast which was rebaptized as 'machievellian' during the 1570s. One would have carefully to look up the Dutch pamphlets and other sources showing the *métissage* of the Huguenot/gueux cause, once studied by van Lettenhove and Bor and now considered more as a subject of comparative analysis³³ than as a double-faced story of the same situation and structure.³⁴ There are certain general

32 *Cortverhael*, fol. AijR-V. The recurring motif of depopulation recalls indeed a Machievellian 'remedium' for principi nuovi that we find in *Principe* 111 and specially in *Discorsi* 1, 26. The idea was later developed by Gentillet ('Un prince en pays conquis doit establir colonies, du moins es lieux plus forts, et en chasser les naturels habitants', Gentillet Innocent, *Discours [...] contre Machiavel*, 3 livres in 1 vol. (Geneva, s.n.: 1576) lib. 3, chap. 3, p. 309–315), applied by Urbain Chauveton to the Spanish conduct in America and was always remembered in the *Politica*-tradition (p.e. Christoph Besold), cf. Zwierlein, "Machievellismus und Italienisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer" 44–46.

33 Benedict Ph. – Marnef G. – Nierop H. van – Venard M. (eds.), *Reformation, revolt and civil war in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585* (Amsterdam: 1999).

34 Cf. just for some titles that were Dutch translations of French pamphlets or Dutch pamphlets concerning the French wars: *Des Conincx Ende der Religien, Ierste Bescherminghe, teghens die bederffelijcke Muyterije van Caluinus, Beza ende Ottomanus aenden Raet ende gemeynen volcke der Stadt van Parijs*, trans. Jean de Saint Amour (Antwerp, Jan Mollijns: 1562) (Wulp 103, translation of *Défense première de la Religion et du Roi [...]*); Bégat Jean, *Remonstrances au Roy des deputez des trois estats de Bourgoigne* (Antwerp, Guillaume Silvius: 1563) (Wulp 104) – procalviniste: Perussis Louis de, *Die Hystorie van de Orloghen gheschiedt in Vranckrijck [...] Jnt Jaer 1562* (Antwerp, s.n.: 1564) (Wulp 108); *Warachtighe beschrijuinge van den Standt der Religien, ende t'ghemeyne weluaren onder den Coninghen van Francriick Henrico de tweede, Francisco de tweede, ende Carolo de neghende gheschiet [...]* (s.l., s.n.: 1567) (Wulp 177); *Een waerachtlich verhael vanden slach die daer gebuert is, van weghe des alder Christelijcsten Coninck van Vranckrijck. Opten 13 dach van Meerte 1569* (Antwerp, s.n.: 1569) (Wulp 200); *Een schoon bewijs ende vermaninghe, dat in allen Staten ende Prouincien t'ghebruyck vande Religie ende die Conscientie vrij beheort te zijn allen menschen: [...] Wte Franchoyische taele in Nederduytsche ghetranslateert. Ghedruct int Jaer ons Heeren 1577* (s.l., s.n.: 1577) (Wulp 307); the period 1578–1583 is better researched thanks to the work of Mack P. Holt and others on the enterprise of the Duke of Anjou; after that many pamphlets and declarations of the French Ligue War from 1585 until 1598 are translated and printed in the Netherlands: Wulp 637; Wulp 628; Wulp 633; Wulp 634; Wulp 8758; Tiele 290; Knuttel 1, 1, 723–725; Alphen 29; Knuttel 1, 1, 726 (Hotman's *Brutum fulmen*); Knuttel 1, 1, 775–776; Someren 135; Wulp 669; Wulp 673; Wulp 693–694; Knuttel 1, 1,

similarities with other ways of receiving Machiavelli in Europe, for example the intersection of 'machievellism' and 'antiitalianism'.³⁵

But before approaching the import of antimachiavellianism after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, to complete the picture of the 'interwovenness' of the French and the Dutch experience, we should first look at the other side of the frontier. As is widely accepted, the Huguenot attempt to invade the Netherlands, just before the Massacre in spring 1572, was connecting the history of the two European zones of religious conflict deeply one with another. If we are looking for 'machievellism' linking the French and the Dutch Wars of Religion, we may find it at first not on the Catholic side but on the Calvinist, with Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and Coligny and their famous *Discours au Roy*, written and presented to the king as part of discussions about whether the French army should invade Flanders as ally of the *gueux* or not between June 23 and July 12, 1572. The document, circulated during the sixteenth century in French and Italian manuscript copies all over Europe, is well known as the key document for the Huguenot political concept (or at least rhetoric) on the eve of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The last extensive research on it was undertaken by Hugues Daussy.³⁶ One might add some observations on its character as a truly 'Machiavellian' text. The structure of the *mémoire* or *discours* is ruled by the metaphor of the state as body and civil war as a disease that could be cured by a venesection: by sending some 'blood' – an army – into Flanders. The logic of the interdependency between domestic peace/war and

823;863; 864; 865; 867; 868; *Extract wt sekere messive inhoudende dat om-orenghen van den Herthoge van Guise* (s.l., 1589, not in Knuttel et al.: UB Münster AC 5381); Tiele 349; Wulp 707–9, 710, 714–716, 721; Wulp 722; Knuttel I, 1, 876, 878, 879, 880, 886; Wulp 729, 740, 750; Tiele 360; Someren 162; Knuttel I,1, 893; Wulp 766; Wulp 8784; Knuttel I,1, 900, 902–903; Someren 1594 and Wulp 786 (*L'anti-jésuite* by Antoine Arnauld 1594, transl. Franciscus Junius [François du Jon]); Tiele 379; Wulp 796–797; Wulp 8793; Knuttel I,1,927; Wulp 799; Wulp 800, 806–807; Wulp 851; Wulp 855; Knuttel I,1,969,985, 986, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1013; Tiele 410; Wulp 856, 867– 869, 876; Alphen 38; the Dutch-French connection goes certainly even beyond 1598.

35 For 'antiitalianism' near to but not identical with machievellism cf. Garloff M., '*Chassez loin de nous les Italiens qu'on hait tant*' – *Antiitalianismus in politischen Streitschriften im Umfeld der Bartholomäusnacht (1573–76)*, Master thesis (LMU Munich: 2007), published: http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/2967/1/Garloff_Mona.pdf.

36 Cf. Sutherland N.M., *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559 to 1572* (London: 1972) 249–257; Daussy H., *Les huguenots et le roi. Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572–1600)* (Geneva: 2002) 64–80; Crouzet D., *La Nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy. Un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: 1994) 333–335; Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei* 188, 402s., 412, 422, 702; Jouanna A., *La Saint-Barthélemy. Les mystères d'un crime d'État. 24 août 1572* (Paris: 2007) 86–92.

foreign peace/war and a geostrategic analysis of nearly whole Europe backed up by some practical reflections about how to organize the army and the war form the core of the text. Some central passages are:

[...] c'est d'entreprendre vne guerre dehors pour entretenir la paix dedans, &, comme tous bons Politiques ont de tout temps fait, mettre vn ennemy en teste a vn peuple aguerry, de peur qu'il ne le deuienne a soy mesme.

[...] Et ce sont vieilles finesses de nourrir la guerre en vn Estat voisin, tant que, ou la part vaincue nous appelle au secours, ou toutes les deux abbatues soient contraintes de nous receuoir. [...]

La guerre, Sire, se fait plus par fer, que par or; plus par hommes, que par argent. [...]

Les vns estiment les deniers nerfs d'une armee, les autres y preferent les hommes.³⁷

The point must be to undertake a foreign war to maintain peace inside [sc. your country], and, as all the good men of politics have done all the times, to put an enemy in front of a warlike people, fearing that it [sc. the people] does not become one [sc. an enemy] of oneself.

And those are old subtleties to feed a war within a neighbouring state, given that, or the losing party calls us for support, or both parties of war might be forced to receive us.

War, my Lord, is done more by iron than by gold; more by men than by silver.

Some hold money to be the sinews of an army, the other prefer men.

The procedure and structure of the argument and the way of analyzing the present political situation is very similar to what we can call the Italian Renaissance method of 'discorrere'.³⁸ The idea of a diverting foreign war to

37 Coligny Gaspar de [i.e. Duplessis-Mornay Philippe de], Discours au Roy 1572, in *Mémoires de Messires Philippe Duplessis-Mornay* (s.l., s.n.: 1624) 1–13 and Duplessis-Mornay Philippe de, *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay* 12 vols. (Paris, Treuttel & Würtz: 1824) vol. 2, 20–37.

38 I have analyzed that 'bifurcative' way of reasoning and of measuring the forces in many places, Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei* chap. B; idem, "Politik als Experimentalwissenschaft, 1521–26: Agostino Nifos politische Schriften als Synthese von Aristotelismus und Machiavellismus", *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 113, 1 (2006) 30–62; idem, "Empirie et réflexivité dans la gouvernementalité machiavélienne du XVI^e s.", in Laborier P. – Audren F. –

pacify inner conflicts is an old question treated traditionally within the normative framework of the *bellum iustum* theory, especially by Bartolus, who considered it a *praeceptum tyrannicum*.³⁹ In Machiavelli, we find that logic unbound from the context of the just-war-theory in the reasoning about *congiure* and their interdependency with foreign conflicts (*Principe* IX, 4, 7; XIX, 2f.: 'Ma circa' sudditi, quando le cose di fuori non muovino, si ha a temere che non congiurino secretamente'). But the most direct hint to Machiavelli are two citations of the topos that war is won by gold (as the 'nervo di guerra') or iron (good soldiers). The famous discussion by Machiavelli in *Discorsi* II, 10⁴⁰ is quite obviously behind those lines, because if Mornay was even citing that topos prioritizing soldiers (iron) over gold, this could refer nearly only to Machiavelli himself in the sixteenth century (Machiavelli *Discorsi* II, 10, 1f., 35f. 'Dico pertanto non l'oro, come grida la comune opinione, essere il nervo della guerra, ma i buoni soldati Ai romani, s'eglino avessero voluto fare la guerra più con i danari che con il ferro, non sarebbe bastato avere tutto il tesoro del mondo ...'). Machiavelli himself attributed the origin of that saying to Quintus Curtius Rufus, but that must be a misunderstanding.⁴¹ The original places in classical texts for that saying are indeed Cicero (*Orationes philippicae* 5, 5) and Plutarch (*Cleomenes* § 27), but in Antiquity Machiavelli's *inverse* version of the soldiers/ the iron being more important than the gold did not occur.⁴² If the precise form of that topos in that *Discours* of Mornay-Coligny points quite clearly back to Machiavelli's texts themselves, we are authorized even more to what is normally problematic: to call that *Discours* a 'machievellian' analysis because of its general textual surface structure, its method of analysis and its political advice.

Napoli P. – Vogel J. (eds.), *Les sciences camérales. Activités pratiques et histoire des dispositifs publics* (Paris: 2011) 103–132.

- 39 Quaglioni D., *Politica e diritto nel Trecento italiano. Il 'De tyranno' di Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314–1357). Con l'edizione critica dei trattati 'De Guelphis et Gebellinis', 'De regimine civitatis' e 'De tyranno'* (Florence: 1983) 198, 201.
- 40 The most complete treatment of that topos in the twofold context of the history of ideas, Machievellian philology on the one hand and Florentine accounting practices of militia financing for which Machiavelli was responsible on the other, is now Barthas J., *L'argent n'est pas le nerf de la guerre. Essai sur une prétendue erreur de Machiavel* (Rome: 2011).
- 41 Hypotheses about that brought forward by Walker in his Commentary, cf. Machiavelli N., *Opere*, ed. C. Vivanti, 2 vols. (Turin: 1997) vol. 1, 1018s.
- 42 Cf. Fachard D., "'Che come i Greci non si faccia!': argent et guerre à l'époque républicain à Florence", in Boillet D. – Piejus M.F. (eds.), *Les Guerres d'Italie. Histoire, pratiques, représentations* (Paris: 2002) 23–37; Zwierlein C., "Un discorso politico sconosciuto di Claudio Tolomeo del 1536: machievellismo metodico all'inizio della terza guerra Habsburg-Valois", *Il pensiero politico* 44, 3 (2012) 365–392, here 376 n. 33; Barthas, *L'argent* 279–283, 286f.

Therefore, if later the Calvinist monarchomachs blamed Catherine of Medici, the king and his counsel for following the precepts of Machiavelli, we may add for accuracy that the Calvinists also were probably quite good readers of Machiavelli themselves – and they revealed that reading just with regard to the political planning of the invasion of the Netherlands.

1.3 *French Antimachiavellism Imported to the Netherlands*

Before Innocent Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* in 1576, the most direct antimachiavellian text published in reaction to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre was the Calvinist *Reveille-matin et de leurs voisins* (1573/1574). As the title already betrays, the text was directed not only to French Huguenots but rather to an international public – German, Dutch and English Protestants who might support the Huguenots. The pamphlet has a complex structure and contains parts of Hotman's *Francogallia* openly applied to the current situation, of Ronsard's *Franciade* and of Étienne de la Boétie's *Discours sur la servitude volontaire/Contr'un*. The pamphlet⁴³ contains some very direct passages on and against Machiavelli which mostly concern the problem of the political treatment of religion. It also was partly translated into Dutch by Ian Fruytiers in 1575:⁴⁴

One has to admit that there is nothing more miserable than victory in civil wars, which very often weakens the winner as much as the loser, delivering him in the end into the hands of his neighbor. Therefore, departing from Machiavelli's opinion (which the royal council seemed to follow, holding his subjects disunited) was a horrible heresy in state affairs [*une pernicieuse Heresie en matiere d'estat*]. It would be instead better to conserve the whole than to ruin a great part. The republics of the Swiss and those of Germany (although there was the same diversity of religions as in France) did not stop prospering and were very peaceful.⁴⁵

43 Cf. Kingdon, *Myths* 70–87 (correctly used as first example for 'International Propaganda'); Mellet P.-A., *Les traités monarchomaques: confusion des temps, résistance armée et monarchie parfaite, 1560–1600* (Geneva: 2007) passim; Garloff, *Chassez loin de nous les Italiens qu'on hait tant* 36–40 and passim.

44 *Der Francoysen enn haerder nagebueren Morghenwecker. [...] Door Evzebjvm Philadelphum/ Ouergheset door Ian Fruytiers* (Dordrecht, s.n.: 1574); *De tweede Dialogvs. Der Francoysen enn haerder nagebueren Morghenwecker. Gemaect door Evsebjvm Philadelphus. Ouergheset door Ian Fruytiers* (Dordrecht, s.n.: 1575).

45 [Barnaud Nicolas], *Le Reveille-Matin des François, et de leurs voisins. Composé par Eusebe Philadelphie Cosmopolite, en forme de Dialogues* (Edimbourg [i.e. Strasbourg], Jaques James [i.e. Bernhard Jobin]: 1574) 21. The German translation is *Reveille matin: oder wacht*

[D]ar daer oock gheen ellendigher sake en is/ dan de ouerwinninge in borghelicken crych/ de welcke den ouerwinder dickmael wel so seer swacket als de ouerwonnene/ so dat hy hem op het laetste wel in zijnder naghebueren handen leuert: dat hier door Macchiauelli meyninghe (de welcke des Conincx Raet scheen te volgen/ zijn ondersaten oneenich houdende) een schadelicke ketterije enn redene in eender ghemeynten was: dat het dan beter was tgheheel te bewaren/ dan een groot deel te verderuen. Dat de ghemeynten van Switserlant ende Duytslant/ (hoe wel daer oock verscheydenheyt in der Religien was als in Franckerijck/ daerom nochtans niet en lieten voorspoedich ende vredich te syne).⁴⁶

A bit later in the Dialogue, the figure 'History' explains how the Admiral Coligny had been warned some time before the massacre of 1572 by texts sent to him which reminded him of the danger of staying in Paris next to the king because of the typical royal behaviour shown during history to heretics: Kings never kept their word.

Remember that the king was persuaded by the doctrine of Machiavelli that one must not suffer a different religion in his kingdom than the one on which his state is founded: of which [sc. of that Catholic religion], or rather of its false miracles, he has to show that he cares for it. Be assured that he was always taught and has often repeated the lesson that his kingdom cannot be peaceful and safe as long as there are two religions.⁴⁷

Neemt hier oock goede acht oppe/ dat de Coninck door Machiauelli leere onderrichtet is geweest/ dat hy in synen Rijcke gheen ander Religie en behoort te gedooghen dan de ghene daer synen staet op gegrondet is/ welke Religie/ Ja oock haer valsche miraculen/ hy moet betoonen in grooter achtinghe te houden. Weest oock versekert datmen hem geleert ende de lesse oock dickmael verhaelt heeft/ dat zijn Rijcke niet geruft noch versekert en can zijn/ so langhe als in het selfde tweederleye Religien zijn.⁴⁸

frue auf. Das ist summarischer und warhafter bericht von den verschinenen auch gegenwertigen beschwerlichen haendeln ... in Franckreich verfasst (Strasbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1575). There was no contemporary English translation, cf. Kingdon, *Myths* 258.

46 *Der Francoysen Morghenwecker* fol. B5v.

47 Barnaud, *Reveille matin* 37.

48 *Der Francoysen Morghenwecker* fol. C7v.

The next direct reference to Machiavelli appears a little later:

And then all the examples that were brought forward to the king with the eighteenth chapter of Machiavelli's book where he treats what concerns the keeping of faith by princes: on which chapter his schoolmasters – caring as little about his conscience as of his reputation – make additions and glosses which are more dangerous than the text itself.⁴⁹

Ende veel andere die te lanck souden zijn te verhalen/ welcke exempelen (ick segge) den Coninck van Vranckerijck daghelicks worden voorgehouden met het xviii. Cappittel wt den boecke des Princes Machiauelli/ daet hy handelt op wat wijze dat Coninghen enn Vorsten gelooou sullen houden: op de welcke zijn Schoolmeesters (also weynich sorgende voor zijn conscientie als synen goeden name) gloseringhen enn byuoeginghen maken die veel sorgherlicker zijn/ dan de texten seluen.⁵⁰

The precise reference to chapter 18 of the *Prince* shows how that text had already achieved a canonical status and how it was cited almost by heart like lawyers cited fragments from the Digest or theologians passages from the Bible. According to the *Reveille matin*, Admiral Coligny rejected all those warnings in the text sent to him. Later in the Dialogue, the figure 'Politique' tells the story how Henry of Anjou and the Guises did exercise pressure on the king on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day to commission quickly and finally the murder of Coligny and the other chiefs of the Calvinist party. Catherine de Medici is said having insisted on that execution by pointing to Machiavelli's council that princes may break easily their word if that would be helpful.⁵¹

All those Machiavellian passages belong to the two issues of holding or breaking your word (*Principe* chap. XVIII) or to the problem of how religion

49 Barnaud, *Reveille matin* 40.

50 *Der Francoysen Morghenwecker* fol. D1r–v.

51 'Ick laet v bedincken wat trock de moed hier gespeelt heeft voor haren alderlieftsten sone/ tot schade des genen daer sy tot desen tijt een walginge van gehadt heeft/ ende den welcken sy niet bemindt en heeft/ dan seer weynich na ettelicken tijt. Sy heeft te weghe gebrocht dat hy de leere Machiauelli heeft nageuolcht/ de welcke is/ geen gelooou te houden, dan als de saken tot voordeel strecken/ enn heeft die ander leere verworpen die Dionisius Syculus beter verstont/ die by hem den alderdoosten mensche hielt diemen mocht vinden/ op den welcken het volck (begheerlick na zijn vrijheydt zijnde) alle zijn toornighe pijlen mocht wt schieten.' (*Der Francoysen Morghenwecker* fol. J2r).

is to be treated by politics.⁵² It is clear, the statements that in a reign only one religion is tolerable are not found in Machiavelli: neither his analysis of the political use of religion by the Romans and of the destructive use by the church in *Discorsi* I, 11–15 nor any chapter in the *Principe* contains such a maxim. The *Reveille matin* was projecting this onto the Florentine author in the usual polemic form to produce an asymmetrical opposition of argument. One could only understand the functional way of analysis of (ancient) religion itself as ‘Machiavellian’ at that time.⁵³

What is now the ‘Dutch face’ of that *Reveille matin* by Ian Fruytiers? He did not add any bigger paratext to those already existent in the original printing. He neither translated the dedication letter of ‘Eusebius Philadelphus’ to the queen of England, nor his second dedication letter to the estates of Poland, nor the *Double d'une lettre missiue escrite au Duc de Guyse par vn gentil homme* literally. Instead, he provided an overview of those three paratexts of the original version in his own *Voorredene* which is directed to the *Staten van Hollant ende Zeelant*. That leads to a different balancing and emphasis. Fruytiers already emphasized in his preface the usefulness of the constitutional theory brought forward in the later parts of the dialogue, the proposition of an estate-republic close to what the Low Countries were living or aiming for in those years, becoming formally acknowledged during the Union of Utrecht 1579. And from the last letter of a gentleman to the Duke of Guise, he collected and re-assembled foremost the central passages that promote the liberty of conscience (pointing to the examples of the duke of Savoy's *Pace di Cavour*,⁵⁴ the Polish treatises with his estates [meaning the Warsaw Confederation of 1573], even the tolerance exercised by the pope vis-à-vis the Jews):

Sir, I would be of the opinion that if he would not depart from that (as it seems well that nothing else can steal that good away from you), that if you would make peace and tranquillity, as they want in this country,

52 A short appraisal of the topos of the lying prince (chapter XVIII) is to be found in Stolleis M., “Löwe und Fuchs. Eine politische Maxime im Frühabsolutismus”, in idem, *Staat und Staatsräson in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1990) 21–36.

53 The exactly contemporary Gentillet Innocent, *Anti-Machiavel*, ed. C.E. Rathé (Geneva: 1968), part II, chap. 1–10 (p. 171–153) commented extensively on Machiavelli's treatment of the ancient Roman religion, but there is no hint about what would become in 1588 a fundamental law of France, its Catholicism.

54 Cf. for that important first peace or edict of religious pacification Zwierlein C., “The Peace of Cavour in the European Context” in Stacey S A. (ed.), *Political, Religious and Social Conflict in the States of Savoy, 1400–1700* (Oxford et al.: 2014) 125–167.

taking from them their faith and oath of allegiance concerning bodies and property, as a good prince, leaving them with their conscience, and their religion in liberty just as by God's disposition. This would stimulate you to let them enjoy such a liberty – set aside that it is a tyranny that one is exercising upon their conscience [sc. forcing them] to do it in another way: and that this violence is the reason for the loss of so many people who are going to consume each other like the gun and the flint stone. [...]

Sir, the best advice would be that which Gamaliel gave a long time ago when the apostles were persecuted to leave those men in peace: because if their opinions and doctrine is human, be assured that it will completely destroyed, and if it is the work of God, no one can destroy it.⁵⁵

Voorwaer mijn Heere hangt de sake niet dan alleene daer aen, ick soude v raden dat ghy hen de conscientie enn Religie vry liet: want het is doch enckel Tyrannie, datmen hare conscientien wilt anders maken dan sy syn: enn ymmers is het also dat dit de oorsake is van so grooten volck verlies, die deen den anderen verslinden. [...]

Ick achte Gamalielis raet beter te sijne, te weten, datmen dit volck in vrede laet leuen: want so haer leere eenen menschen vondt is, ghelooft sekerlick sy sal te gronde gaen: dan is sy wt God, onmogelick ist datmense sal vvtroeyen.⁵⁶

As we see by the comparison of the French and the Dutch text, the complex proposal of the French version that the Duke of Guise should prudently distinguish between political submission from the realm of freedom of religious performance and belief is reduced in the Dutch version to a straightforward plea for that liberty. That theme and the famous *consilium Gamalielis* (Act 5, 34–42, 39) becomes now a central cornerstone of the pamphlet, much more than in the French original, which is typical for the Netherlands. The *consilium Gamalielis*, the most famous passage that could possibly be used from the Bible to argue for tolerance in religious matters, had first been introduced by Sebastian Castellio into the debates of the confessional age in his preface to his 1551 Bible translation. From that time it served more and more as a founding maxim for tolerance, and this holds true first of all for the Dutch context where we witness just in those late 1570s and early 1580s the first signs of a revival of Castellio, who would become one of the central points of reference

55 *Reveille matin* fol. b4r–v, b6r.

56 *Der Francoysen Morghenwecker* fol. *6r–v.

for the development of the Dutch idea of 'republican state tolerance'.⁵⁷ If we take then the introducing paratexts of the Dutch pamphlet as the frame of interpretation for the whole text, we can observe a 'monosemantization' (or proactive disambiguation) of 'machievellism' into 'tyrannic enforcement of only one religion in a state'. 'Machievellism' and 'liberty of conscience'⁵⁸ become directly opposite terms,⁵⁹ and even further, 'machievellism' is connoted with poorly counselled courtier-monarchy, the opposite of which was a state of estates (ruled by the way even by an antiquizing 'Dictator' following Fruytiers).

Another pamphlet of the same year 1575 shows the French-Dutch *métissage* with respect to religious wars and antimachievellism. Its political context was following another defeat of the Nassau army at the Battle of Mookerheyde in 1574, resulting in discussions about a peace with Spain being held in an increasingly tense climate. It was a translation of the French pamphlet *La France-Turquie. C'est à dire conseils et moyens tenus par les ennemis de la Couronne de France, pour reduire le royaume en tel estat que la Tyrannie torquesque* (1575).⁶⁰ As research already has shown,⁶¹ the supposed plan discussed

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- 57 For the fortune of the Gamaliel topos since Sebastian Castellio 1551 cf. Lecler J., *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris: 1955; reedition Paris: 1994) 63, 301, 324, 337, 348, 350, 394, 440, 507, 511, 564, 635, 644, 645, 648, 788, 826; Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei* 383. For the reception of Castellio in the Netherlands Guggisberg H.R., *Sebastian Castellio im Urteil seiner Nachwelt vom Späthumanismus bis zur Aufklärung* (Basel: 1956) 48–67; Coornhert D.V. – Gruppelaar J. – Bedaux J.C. – Verwey G. (eds.), *Synode over gewetensvrijheid. Een nauwgezet onderzoek in de vergadering gehouden in het jaar 1582 te Vrijburgh* (Amsterdam: 2008); cf. also Zwierlein C., "The Waldensians, Bucer, Beza, Castellio, and French-German Confessional Diplomacy 1556/7", *Archive for Reformation History* 106 (2015) 184–241, here 210–213, 218–220, 234.
- 58 The French pamphlets supporting that 'liberty of conscience' like Castellio's *Conseil à la France désolée* (1562) were translated at nearly the same time as the antimachievellist post-barthelemyan pamphlets: Cf. Castellio Sebastian, *Raet aen dat verwoeste Vrancckryck [...] oftmen ooc der consciencien gewelt aendoen soude*, (s.l., Gerrit Hendricksz: 1578) [First translation 1567, for other texts of Castellio translated cf. the note to Wulp 364].
- 59 Koselleck R., "Zur historisch-politischen Semantik asymmetrischer Gegenbegriffe", in idem, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/M.: 1979) 211–259; idem, "Feindbegriffe", in idem, *Begriffsgeschichten. Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache. Mit zwei Beiträgen von Ulrike Spree und Willibald Steinmetz sowie einem Nachwort zu Einleitungsfragmenten Reinhart Kosellecks von Carsten Dutt* (Frankfurt/M 2006) 274–284.
- 60 Probably the text the translator used was not this version with its better known title but *Discours traduit d'Italien en François contenant aucuns moyens pour reduire la France à une entière obeissance à son Roy* (Augsburg, s.n.: 1575).
- 61 Cf. Procacci, *Machiavelli* 172–176 who remembers how the France/Turkey comparison of *Principe* chap. iv had been already received by Louis Le Roy (*Les politiques d'Aristote*) and

in the French king's counsel to convert France into a 'turkish' regime after the St. Bartholomew's massacre that is revealed by a 'Florentine nobleman' is a development of a topos started by Machiavelli in chap. iv of his *Principe*. Therein the tempered French monarchy is opposed to the despotism of 'the Turk'. Transforming France into a 'Turkish' regime would hence mean the reversal of the *status quo* observed by Machiavelli, but would be 'Machiavellian' itself. Without citing Machiavelli explicitly, the pamphlet does embed the current political situation in France in an machiavellian interpretative context.⁶² Already in the French version, the origin of the respective narrative in 'Florence' opens the connotative and associative horizon of 'machiavellism' without referring explicitly to one special idea or passage of text.⁶³ The Dutch translator of the pamphlet tells us that he has translated the text because he thought 'dattet niet allenlick tot de weluaert van vranckerijke, maer ouck tot de behoudinghe onser Nederlanden wonderlick wel soude dienen, gemerct de affairen ende gheleghentheyt van beyde dese landen, nu seer in eenen staet sijn (*that it does not only serve the welfare of France but that it should also serve very much the conservation of our own Netherlands given that the matters and circumstances of both countries are today very much in one and the same state of affairs*)'. He dedicated it to all princes, counts, nobles, city mayors of both religions of his 'vaderlant'.⁶⁴ So the transnational interwovenness of the both regional wars of religion were perceived contemporaneously by the actors and their work of propaganda referred to that situation.

In the years after the reception of the pamphlet production stimulated by the St. Bartholomew's Massacre, the next step was the transfer of the machiavellian dichotomies from the French context to the opposition of the Dutch estates to the Spanish monarchy and its representatives. Here, one must do work on the reception of the explicitly antimachiavellian *Vindiciae contra*

Bodin (*Methodus*) at that time. Battista and Mastellone have shown other recurrences of the motive, for the *France-Turquie* cf. Jouanna A., *Le devoir de révolte: la noblesse française et la gestation de l'état moderne (1559–1661)* (Paris: 1989) 159–160; Desrayaud A., "Un projet machiavélique de tyrannie turquesque au temps des guerres de religion", *Revue française d'histoire des idées politiques* 3 (1996) 77–111. The pamphlets which responded in 1575/76 to *La France-Turquie* were apparently not translated into Dutch.

62 It is by the way of an ambiguous example because very often the 'Turkish' mode of government was taken to show its tolerance regarding the religion of subjected people and to form from that an argument a fortiori in favor of religious tolerance in Europe, cf. e.g. Stapleton, *Oratio Academica* 39.

63 *Een Discoers ofte Vertooch ghedaen voor den Coninck van Vranckerijke ende ettelycke van zynen raet, vvaerin verclaert vvort met wat middelen men soude connen Vranckerijke in een Turksche slauernije bringhen* (s.l., s.n.: 1575) fol. Aiv (Knuttel I, 1, 232).

64 *Een Discoers ofte Vertooch ghedaen* fol. Aiv.

tyrannos (1579), which some identify as rooted more in the Dutch than in the French Wars of religion.⁶⁵ In a (in this context) famous⁶⁶ pamphlet of Willem Verheyden *Nooetelijcke Consideratien die alle goede Liefhebbers des Vaderlands behooren rijpelyck te ouerwegen opten voorgheslagen Tractate von Peys met den Spaengiaerden* from 1587 we can observe an interesting development in Dutch political analysis and 'language'. One could say that the pamphlet is methodically (pro-)Machiavellian while the content is antimachiavellian.⁶⁷ As one of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, the pamphlet starts with the maxim which is said to be taken from Livy 'The surest way to assure oneself against one's enemies is mistrust/suspiciousness – t'versekerste middel om sich teghen zijne vyanden te behouden, is het mistrouwen.'⁶⁸ We do not find an exact phrase or maxim like that in either Livy or in Machiavelli,⁶⁹ but its primary meaning, that political

65 Cf. Gelderen M. van, "A political theory of the Dutch Revolt and the 'Vindiciae contra tyrannos'", *Il pensiero politico* 19 (1986) 163–182 and the thesis of Visser D., "Junius: The Author of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*?", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 84 (1971) 510–525 who even thought of Johan Junius de Jonghe as author, a thesis not followed by others later on, as far as I see. The use of the *Vindiciae* by Aggaeus Albada in Cologne 1579 is well known since Lossen M. v., "Aggäus Albada und der Kölner Pazifikationscongreß", *Historisches Taschenbuch* 6, 5 (1876) 275–362, here 307, 350; *Een claer Vertooch der heymelijcke raetslaghen ende practijcken die de ghemeyne vyanden ghebruycken om dese Nederlanden wederomme der Spaensche tyrannie ende Inquisitie te onderworpen* (s.l., s.n.: 1583) is starting by citing 'Junius Brutus' as figure of Roman history – but one may suspect that in a republicanist discourse of the 1580ies, this is already a cipher for the *Vindiciae*.

66 Gelderen, *The Political Thought* 206.

67 Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei*; Zwierlein, *Machiavellismus/Antimachiavellismus*; Zwierlein; *Italienisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer*; Zwierlein C., "Am Ursprung der neueren Intellectual History, Machiavelli und Machiavellismus", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 61 (2010) 631–644. Kahn V., *Machiavellian rhetoric: from the Counter-Reformation to Milton* (Princeton: 1994) has stressed that point in a different way in (re)constructing the long-term tradition of rhetorical method.

68 Verheyden, *Nooetelijcke Consideratien* fol. B2r.

69 Perhaps the Livian book XXXIII which is about the second Macedonian war contains the highest amount of descriptions of diplomatic interaction and *legationes* with Titus Quinctius Flaminius as main political actor and many observations on 'diffidentia', 'fidem facere' etc. In Machiavelli, there is neither a chapter of the *Discorsi* or the *Prince* entitled with such a maxim, but the chap. II, 11 starts with 'Volendo Tito Livio mostrare lo errore de' Sidicini a fidarsi dello aiuto de' Campani, e lo errore de' Campani a credere potergli difendere, non lo potrebbe dire con più vive parole, dicendo: "Campani magis nomen in auxilium Sidicinatorum, quamvires ad praesidium attulerunt"', but otherwise the chapter does not treat topics similar to those here in question. *Discorsi* III, 6 about conjurations may also be mentioned because it treats the central question of how to detect a conjuration, how to be prepared to it, how the nuclei of conjurations can be observed and

planning and reasoning should be based on prudent observation and a high grade of reflexivity is at the core of Machiavellian politics. Its negative version (to explicitly mistrust, not only to be prudent) is even more Machiavellian in its anthropological sense presuming 'bad characters'. In this line is the interpretation of Alessandro, Duke of Parma, as someone who simulates magnanimity and placidity just following the Italian saying that the person who does not know to simulate, neither knows to reign.⁷⁰ This proverb is attributed to different fifteenth century princes, sometimes to the emperor Sigismund, sometimes to King Alfonso of Naples, sometimes to Louis XII of France who became famous foremost in the sixteenth century political treatises.⁷¹ Later on, Verheyden precisely pointed to the famous chapter XVIII of Machiavelli's *Principe* as being the blueprint for Parma's and other italianized princes' practice of simulation and dissimulation.⁷² So, even if the pamphlet argues from a

therefore suspiciousness is central to the chapter. The maxim is neither literally present in Gentillet, *Anti-Machiavel*, ed. Rathé.

- 70 'Waer toe hem seer wel dient den persoon van den Prince van Parme/ omme dese personaige wel te spelen/ en den eenuoudigen d'oogen te verbinden door een gheueynsde goedertierenheyt enn schijn van sachtmoedicheyt/ met welcke deuchden desen goeden Prince daerentusschen alomme grootelijck wordt verheuen. Godt gheue oock dat hy zulcx inder waerheyt sy/ maer ick en cans niet wel geloouen/ wetende dat het spreekwoort te seer wel bysonder by den Italianen wort gepractiseert: *Die niet en can veynsen, die en can niet regieren.*' (Verheyden, *Nooetelijcke Consideratien* fol. A4v).
- 71 The proverb was introduced also in the antimachiavellian post-St. Bartholomew-tradition by François Hotman's *De furoribus gallicis*, where the Parlement of Paris' president Christophe de Thou was reported to have commented favorably on king Charles' declaration why he had to punish the Huguenots by pointing, among others to the proverb 'Qui nescit dissimulare, non nescit regnare' ([Hotman F.], *De furoribus gallicis, horrenda et indigna Amiralij Castillionei, Nobilium atque illustrium virarum caede* [s.l., s.n.: 1573] XLVIII). In the Chytraeus edition of Enea Silvio Piccolomini's commentary to Antonio Panormitano's history of Alfonso's Life and deeds, Piccolomini is adding it as a proverb of emperor Sigismondo (reg. 1433–1437) and as interpretation of Alfonso's acting: Panormitano Antonio, *De Dictis & Factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum et Neapolis, libri quatuor, comment. Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, ed. David Chytraeus (Rostock, Stephan Möllemann: 1589) 116–117: 'Sigismundi Caesaris prouerbium fuit, Ignarum esse regnandi, qui simulare nesciret. Vera ratio, nec vultum nec animum mendacio obtegentem regem probat'; in another tradition, the same proverb was attributed to Louis XI and to Charles VIII of France; the latter would not have known any other Latin sentence than that phrase which he would have learned from Louis, cf. Gozzadini Costanzo, *Le vite de' re di Francia* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini: 1591) fol. B3r: 'Non sapeua dir altro in latino, Qui nescit simulare, nescit regnare.'
- 72 'Meynen wy dat de Princen niet so gheleert en zijn in haren handel? Niclaes Machiavel/ het compas vande Italiaensche Princen/ leert hen dit voor den nootelijcsten streeck/

political-ethical point of view that everyone should be honest (on every city gate should be written 'Do not betray others and you will not be betrayed'), its author is also 'italianized' by presupposing the naturally wicked character of men and recommending a prudent position that one should suppose everyone to be a traitor. This is why, in the end, the pamphlet is opposed to any kind of peace treaty with the Spanish.

The topos of the simulated peace as a Machiavellian tool to overcome the Dutch 'rebels' can be followed through the decades. In 1604, when again a peace treaty or armistice was discussed between the Dutch and Duke Albert, we find that topos expressed very similarly to the ideas of Verheyden in 1587 in the form of a French tragicomedy.⁷³ While the Italian princes did follow Machiavelli as their 'compass',⁷⁴ the States-General to whom Lancel dedicated his piece should 'regler & conduire au Celeste Compas Vostre belle Vnion'.⁷⁵ In contrast, Albert, and the Jesuits fostered by Satan himself followed Machiavelli to simulate and dissimulate ('Il faut dissimuler comme un Italien') and proposed a 'feinte paix' after the first battle won by the Dutch in the open field against the Spanish in 1597 in Turnhout. The Duke of Alva, Don Juan and 'our holy Jesuits' were not without reason 'good Machiavellists'. One cannot bring down those *gueux* otherwise than by some honeyed word, and sometimes by massacres.⁷⁶ And Satan himself was enjoying that game, merging together

seggende dat zy aen beyde zyden euen wel ter handt morten wesen/ te weten om een ghedaente van saechemoedicheyt/ ghetrouwicheyt ende bermherticheyt te houden/ ende oock om t'blat te heeren/ als haer voordeel sulcx ghedraecht/ dat is/ dat zy ooc also wel moeten connen de wreetheyt/ ontrouwe ende ongenade/ ende dat zy met van noode hebben deuchdelijck te wesen/ als zy maer sulcx schijnen. Het xvij. Capittel van zijn boecxken geintituleert De Prince/ is vol van dusdanighe goede leeringhen: twelck ick wensche dat op alle de poorten vande steden der Nederlanden ware geschreuen/ met het spreekwoord dat den Italiaen meest gebruyckt/ Betrout niet, ghy en sult niet bedroghen worden: ofte veele ter t'welck by den ousen met meerder eeren wordt ghebruyckt/ Weest ghetrou, ende betrouwt niemant.' (Verheyden, *Nooetelijcke Consideratien* fol. B1r). Cf. Stolleis M., *Staat und Staatsräson in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1990) 21–36.

73 Lancel Antoine, *Le miroir de l'Vnion Belgique, auquel se represente l'estat ou elle a este reduite passe plusieurs années, & le moyen par lequel l'Eternel l'a maintenu & maintient, non-obstant out les empeschemens de la tiranie Espagnolle, le tout en forme de Tragi-comedie* (s.l., s.n.: 1604); Lancel was maître d'école français in Erezee and he was in the circle of the family of Christian and Constantijn Huygens, cf. Franssen J., *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: 1925; reprint Geneva: 1978) 32–34.

74 Cf. n. 74.

75 Lancel, *Le miroir* fol. A2r.

76 Lancel, *Le miroir* fol. D3r–v.

Roman Catholicism, Jesuitism, the alchemy of Albert's political reason of state as the deeds of 'good Machiavellists'.⁷⁷ Finally, the personification of the simulated peace praises herself as being a more effective liar and simulator than all of Italy and Machiavelli.⁷⁸

At the turning to the seventeenth century, while in academic political literature Machiavelli was now sometimes received more subtly, Machiavelli became, in every day political language and drama, a cipher for deception and cruelty as he would be known for centuries.

2 Machiavelli's Twofold Reception in Germany

Our analysis of the French-Dutch connection is important to better understand the character of the early reception of Machiavelli in Germany. Here, one may distinguish two different strands, the 'Western' Machiavelli strongly linked with that French-Dutch connection just discussed, and the Latinized Machiavelli that was contributing to the more academic tradition of post- and

77 [Act IV, scene 2] Satan
 Soit qu'on brasse une paix, ou qu'on forge une guerre,
 Ce m'est tout un comment quant je puis bien conquerre
 Pour ceste paix ne faut que du Catholicon
 Environ d'une drachme infernalement bon,
 Mais qu'il air le signal de nostre Roi d'Espagne,
 Par la on pourra voir combien c'est que l'on gaigne
 De Royaumes, pays, Rois & grands Potentats,
 Sans fondres, ne Canons sans armes, ne soldats
 O que j'ai une drogue exquise & souveraine,
 Nommée hieguero à la mode Romaine!
 Si qu'au Catholicon à semblables effects
 Pour faire bonne guerre ou une feinte paix,
 Leur propriété se fait par une Alquemistrie,
 Bien d'une autre façon que le Bain de Marie
 Mais il faut en cest art y estre tres-expert,
 Ne plus ne moins que moi, ou l'Archeduc Albert,
 Ou comme noz scavants & rusez Iesuistes,
Qui sur tous autres sont bons Machiavelistes
 D'une guerre feront la paix d'un tourne-main,
 Tousiours au bien & los du grand pasteur Romain
 Font aussi d'une paix une guerre sanglante,
 Tout ainsi qu'il plaira à nostre Gouvernante (Lancel, *Le miroir* fol. E3v).

78 Lancel, *Le miroir* fol. F1v.

anti-Bodinian culture of *Politica* teaching at German universities. Both were merging first of all in the German southwest, in the territories where just at the same time Italian heterodox migrants were arriving, mixing also with Dutch and French refugees from the wars of religion before and after the St Bartholomew's Massacre. There is thus also a social context behind that discursive movement.

2.1 Vernacular Receptions

The vernacular Machiavelli in Germany – received either in the original Italian or in French – was usually to be found with nobles, princes and men of politics directly involved in the political affairs of the Western wars.

With some princes, such as with Wilhelm IV of Hesse, direct reading in Italian is likely,⁷⁹ but Machiavelli still remained here a cipher for duplicitous politics. Differing from that, some figures like Lazarus von Schwendi, Georg Hans, the Count Palatine of Pfalz-Veldenz, members of the family of the counts of Nassau⁸⁰ linked to the Western wars, show traces of a more active and positive reception. They started to emulate the method of discursive political advising in German 'Gutachten' for actual decision making processes and reform projects such as the founding of militia-like institutions of 'Landwehr' and 'Landrettung'.⁸¹ The German political language of some princes whose

79 'Es nimpt uns aber groß wunder, das der Ammiral und die andern herrn, als die sonder zweifel die welsche bibel El principe Macciavelli auch studirt, so wol getrawet und sich nicht besser vorgesehen und alle also in<f>ermes in locum tam suspectum sich haben lassen pringen; aber wen Gott einen straffen will, beraubt er denselbigen zuvor seiner vernunft' (After the St Bartholomew's Massacre, Wilhelm in a letter to the elector of the Palatinate, Kassel, September 6, 1572, Kluckhohn A v. (ed.), *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen Kurfürsten von der Pfalz mit verwandten Schriftstücken*, 2 vol. (Braunschweig: 1868–1872) vol. 2, 498).

80 Johann VI of Nassau-Siegen sent an antimachiavellian book by an 'incertus auctor': 'was den Machiavellum belangt, habe ich deshalb naher Franckfurt und Cöllen mit fleis geschriben, aber nicht mehr dan dis tractetlin de Principe, so gleichwohl das fürnembste under seinen scriptis ist, und darinnen die beste stratagemata zu finden, bekommen khännen. Daneben haben E.G. hiebei was sonsten ein incertus author zu widerlegung jetztgedachtes Machiavelli in truck geben' (Glawischign R., *Niederlande, Calvinismus und Reichsgrafenstand 1559–1584. Nassau-Dillenburg unter Graf Johann VI.* (Marburg: 1973) 123 n. 46; Pfützenreuter W., *Heinrich Julius v. Braunschweig und der norddeutsche Späthumanismus* (Dülmen i. Wf.: 1936) 18).

81 GHBibl. Kassel Ms. Math. 14, on that cf. Thies G., *Territorialstaat und Landesverteidigung. Das Landesdefensionswerk in Hessen-Kassel unter Landgraf Moritz (1592–1627)* (Darmstadt/Marburg: 1973) 8–15; Menk G. (ed.), *Landgraf Moritz der Gelehrte. Ein Calvinist zwischen Politik und Wissenschaft* (Marburg/Lahn: 2000), both drawing on

own territorial holdings were small, but who were nevertheless important for European politics, acting as councilors, advisors, close allies and clients for the Palatinate, Brandenburg and Saxony, including Christian von Anhalt, the burggraves of Dohna, or Joachim Ernst of Brandenburg-Ansbach, evince clear signs of having studied Italian.⁸² These influences still remain largely un- or understudied for evaluating how the German princes and men of politics started in those years to train their thinking, their mental map and forms of analyzing politics in Italy or with Italian books and manuscripts at hand, merging to some extent the forms of German customary *Reichsstil* with the culture of vernacular Italian Machiavellism and *ragion di stato* literature. Moreover, this was a phenomenon taking place before and beyond the establishment of the academic Latin *Politica* tradition, itself strongly indebted to those Italian sources. A famous author like Johann Fischart was, in his non-literary work of pro-Huguenot and pro-*gueux* propaganda German pamphleteering, a most attentive observer of Western publications, from the already mentioned *Reveille matin* to the works of Philippe Marnix de St. Adelgonde, and in his paratexts he deliberately combined this with own reception and reading from Machiavelli. He worked closely together with the leaders of the Palatinate, foremost the Count Palatine John Casimir, administrator of the electorate since about 1576.⁸³ Tellingly the major part of German princes, nobles and men of politics for whom there are such traces of reception and emulation were mostly Protestants, many Calvinists or Philippists. In Bavaria, before the famous examples of Duke Maximilian I and Contzen, there is little evidence of a noteworthy reception. Wolfdietrich von Raitenau's Salzburg might be an exception. And all of those Protestant princes were directly involved in the Western

the older research by v. Frauenholz and G. Oestreich. The more recent Schwager T., *Militärtheorie im Späthumanismus. Kulturtransfer taktischer und strategischer Theorien in den Niederlanden und Frankreich (1590–1660)* (Berlin: 2012) is less interested in the reconstruction of Machiavellian than in Lipsian and Dutch influences.

- 82 Cf. the note on the influence of Italian culture on the political language of the Calvinist 'activists' around 1600 above in this volume's Introduction (note 39); many of them had Italian background and had performed a Grand Tour, like for instance also the clients of the Calvinist Palatinate, the younger Dohna between 1600 and 1602 (the *Itinerarium continens profectionem a me Christophoro L.B. & Burggraffio a Dhona susceptam Heidelbergae Italiam versus A.o 1600 Mense Septemb. [until July 8, 1602]* is written nearly completely in Italian and betrays influences of Italian political and military analysis: on the *fortezza* of Livorno on fol. 109v, BSBMü clm 27026).
- 83 Fischart's work as an author of political propaganda (beyond his better known work as translator or re-writer of Rabelais and Amadis de Gaule) has been less studied since the 1920s (Adolf Hauffen). Cf. Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei* 761–779.

wars – either by diplomatic interaction, subsidies, alliances or direct support with troops.

The ‘French-Dutch connection’ is thus the most important link for them, and *this* Machiavellian path made its way from the French humanist circles through which Machiavelli became first naturalized in France, starting during the Italian wars with the du Bellay circle in Rome and Northern Italy in the 1530s and 1540s, through their networks in Paris in the 1540s and 1550s, circulating then in that Huguenot-Gueux interzone of the late 1560s early 1570s, as has been shown, and getting at that point in touch with those Germans who were involved in that major political context. Until the 1580s, it was less the direct import from Italy, as it seems, and the Italianization of some parts of German political practice rather starts from the 1580s on. But a different point is the Latinized Machiavelli.

2.2 *From the Protestantized Latin Machiavelli to the Academic Politica Tradition*

Some authors active in Germany continued the ‘Protestantization’ of Machiavelli in the tradition that was prefigured by Angelo Odoni in his 1535 letter to Erasmus. While usually the gnesiolutherans were less openly humanist and displaying Southern Italian influences because of their stricter adherence to what they conceived as the original Lutheran conception of the deprived status of the postlapsarian man’s capacities to recognize truth beyond God’s word revealed in scripture, Flacius Illyricus represents here a complex exception. On the one hand he was dogmatically firmly orthodox, leaving Wittenberg for Magdeburg because of the defense of that true evangelical teaching against the Philippist compromises after the 1548/49 Augsburg and Leipzig Interim. On the other hand, originating from Croatia (Albona) as a Venetian subject, he had been raised in Italian literary and humanist culture. Thus, when he published his *Catalogus testium veritatis* in 1556 (but finished already in 1552), a collection similar to the later catalogues of Protestant martyrs as known from England (John Foxe) or for the French case (Crespin, Beza), he also included several pre-Reformation authors, theologians, and martyrs. At that point, next to Jan Hus, John Wycliff would figure Savonarola and Machiavelli on equal terms: Machiavelli as someone who had revealed the truth about the ‘babylonian’ occupation of the church’s center by the pope associated with the Antichrist like and before Luther, alluding shortly to the antipapal and anticlerical elements of his historical writings.⁸⁴ This goes hand in hand with the similar and

84 Flacius Illyricus M., *Catalogus testium veritatis* (Strasbourg – Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1562) 567: “Nicolaus Machiauellus, historicus, & Secretarius Florentinus, floruit ante annos 30. Is in sua historia impressa Italica saepe clare ostendit, ex ambitione &

contemporaneous Protestantizing of Guicciardini (from the German translation by Georg Forberger, highlighting first just his historical criticism and distance from the popes⁸⁵ through the *Loci duo* edition⁸⁶ right up to Clapmar, who founded his Erastian antipapal theory of the subordination of religion

crudelitate Pontificum, pleraque mala ac bella Christianis prouenisse. In primo libro, ubi Pontificum & Cardinalium originem ponit, diserte affirmat, nullam eos aliam potestatem, nisi Ecclesiasticam, usque ad Theodericum, Regem Longobardorum habuisse, eo usque in politicis rebus Regibus paruissse. Sed tunc paulatim etiam politicam potentiam quaerere ac rapere sibi coepisse.

Tribus autem rationibus aut artibus eum creuisse demonstrat: Excommunicationibus, Indulgentijs, & Armis: quibus tamen scelerate sint abusi. Dicit eum omnium bellorum, quae in Italia a Theodici tempore ferbuerunt, maxima ex parte causam exitisse: & hodie quoque seminando dissidia ac bella, in Italia suam potentiam tueri & augere. Cardinales quoque ait initio nihil aliud quam parochos seu pastores Romae fuisse: sed postea sibi opes, titulos & singularia insignia ac uestitum usurpasse. Caeterum Papas dicit suis technis & malis artibus eo rem deduxisse, ut sicut ipsi ante Caesaribus obnoxij subiectique fuerunt, ita nunc contra Caesares eis subesse, ac iurare obedientiam cogantur. Memorabile autem uehementer, est quod initio suae historiae dicit circa 600. Domini annum consuetudines seu dogmata ueteris, Ecclesiae cum miraculis nouae pugnare coepisse. Nam spectorum apparitiones & aliae imposturae Satanae miraculorum ueterem illam formam Religionis prorsus euerterunt. Adscribam pauca eius uerba: *Ma intra tante uariationi non fu di minore momento il uariare della Religione, per che conbattendo la consuetudine della antica fede con i miracoli della nuoua, si generauano tumulti, & discordie grauiffime intra gli huomini. Et se pure la Christiana Religione fuisse [sic] stata unita.*" – On that work cf. Scheible H., "Der Catalogus Testium Veritatis. Flacius als Schüler Melanchthons", *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte* 63 (1996) 343–357; Haye T., "Der Catalogus testium veritatis des Matthias Flacius Illyricus – eine Einführung in die Literatur des Mittelalters?", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992) 31–48.

- 85 The translator Georg Forberger underscored in his dedicatory epistle to the elector of Saxony duke August the antipapal veracities courageously noted by Guicciardini: 'Daß er aber auch die lautere warheit geschrieben vnd niemand zu lieb [...] oder zu leid etwas einbracht/kan man allenthalben sehen/ fürnemlich aber auß dem / daß er am blat 99.308.375.402.461 vnd an vilen andern orten/ so gar streng vnd ernstlich [...] gleich als ein anderer Cato/ wider den Bápstlichen stul vnd die Bápste selber/von denen er doch die grósten wolthaten entpfangen/schreibt', Georg Forberger, Basel, February 6, 1574 to duke August, in Guicciardini Francesco, *Gründtliche vnnnd Warhafftige beschreibung aller Fürnemen Historienn die in viertzug jaren / nemlich von dem 1493 bisz auff das 1533/ [...] geschehen sind*, transl. Georg Forberger (Basel, Samuel Apiarius for Heinrich Petri and Pietro Perna: 1574) fols.)(2r-):(4r, here): (3r. Cf. Lepri V. – Severini M.E., *Viaggio e metamorfosi di un testo. I Ricordi di Francesco Guicciardini tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Geneva: 2011) 220–221.

- 86 The observation of the pope just as a secular prince, not as vicar of Christ and as a tyrant is emphasized in the epistle to the readers in Guicciardini Francesco, *Loci duo, ob rerum quas continent gravitatem cognitione dignissimi* (Basel, s.n.: 1569) 3–5.

under the state on Guicciardini).⁸⁷ One of the earliest direct translations of Machiavelli, of the first book of his *Storie fiorentine*⁸⁸ by Hieronymus Turler in 1564, belongs to that Protestant reading of Machiavelli. In a short epigrammatical poem at the beginning, the Philippist Protestant pastor Georg Nigrinus, who was also the German translator of Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel*, advertised Turler's rendering as showing how the powers and stratagems of the popes would have dispersed all forms of evil within the empire (the 'empire' thought of as the fourth of the empires from Daniel's prophecy). Turler linked the Philippist conception of astrological prognostics, the biblical concept of history in its scheme of a succession of the four Danielian empires, with the Aristotelian and Machiavellian reasoning about the 'mutationes ac μεταβολήματα' [Turler's term for the more common Aristotelian μεταβολαί] of states, empires, and about the cyclical structure of the rise, fall and succession of empires in history. This was a mixture that parallels exactly the vision of history attacked two years later by Bodin in the sixth book of his *Methodus* and which remained his point of dispute with 'the Wittenbergians' that he still attacked in book IV, 1 of *Les six livres de la République* and his 1583 *Apologie de René Harpin*.⁸⁹ Turler's little known piece of Machiavellian reception is thus a

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- 87 Clapmar Arnold, *De Arcanis Rerumpublicarum libri sex*, ed. and transl. U. Wehner (Stuttgart – Bad-Cannstatt: 2014) lib. 1, cap. 15, 66 with the central 'Religio enim, ut Afer ille Episcopus dicebat, in Republica esse debet, non contra' finishes with two fundamental citations from the *Loci Duo* and the *Hypomneses politicae* (1598) the Latin version of Guicciardini's *Ricordi*.
- 88 Turler Hieronymus, *De migrationibus populorum septentrionalium, post deuictos a Mario Cimbris: & de Ruina Imperij Romani Liber* (Frankfurt/M, Christian Egenolf: 1564) fol. 16r–93r renders into Latin Machiavelli Niccolò, *Storie fiorentine*, lib. 1, in idem, *Opere*, ed. C. Vivanti, vol. 3 (Torino: 2005) 312–360.
- 89 Turler, *De migrationibus* fol. 1r (Nigrinus), fol. 2r (Turler in his dedicatory epistle, Marbug, prid. Cal. Feb. 1564, which has rather the form of a little treatise to the elector of Saxony duke August). Turler reasoned like two years later Bodin did on the numerical recurrence of important 'mutationes', insisting on an important shift every 500 years, while Bodin arrived at the perfect number of 496. And Turler deemed it to be 'certissimum' that those major changings were preceded by celestial signs (fol. 6r), developing this argument then with references to the Platonic doctrines as well as the Aristotelian concepts of the 'tekmeria'. This is the Philippist astrological concept developed by Garcaeus, Peucer et al., refuted by Bodin: Quaglioni D., *I limiti della sovranità. Il pensiero di Jean Bodin nella cultura politica e giuridica dell'età moderna* (Padua: 1992) 107–139, 169–197. On the Philippist concept of astrological prognostics relying on the earlier works by Sachiko Kusukawa and others cf. the more recent overview Vermij R., "A Science of Signs. Aristotelian Meteorology in Reformation Germany", *Early Science and Medicine* 15 (2010) 648–674.

perfect example for how the amalgamation of a latinized Machiavelli with the post-Interim state of confessionalized churches and their respective scientific culture of understanding history and politics created something new, very different from the original 'Niccolò' of Florence and very much embedded into the Protestant academic culture. For what matters is the concept of history and his antipapal elements, Machiavelli remained here a point of reference among Lutherans who were less active in the support of the Western Calvinists, although mediators like Hubert Languet⁹⁰ always tried to create or maintain relationships between the Philippist circles and the Western calvinist territories of the Reich, foremost the Palatinate. The cryptocalvinist persecution in Saxony was happening exactly at the same time as the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre was perceived in Germany.⁹¹ Now the Machiavellian reference became split and re-semanticized in crucial years and decision-making processes in which German Protestants, more and more divided among themselves and torn between Lutherans and Calvinists, had to decide if and to what extent they would feel sympathy or offer active support to the persecuted Huguenots and Gueux. This meant on the one hand to receive and translate the anti-Machiavellian vernacular pamphlets and treatises within the French-Dutch connection, as outlined above – and Nigrinus translating Gentillet is a good example for that. On the other hand, a thin but consistent tradition persisted mostly within the Latin academic culture of the *Politica* tradition of continuously reading, translating and venerating Machiavelli as the pre-reformed testifier and revealer of truth, particularly concerning the usability and abuses of religion by pagans and the pope. And he could still be venerated as the 'most political' of all thinkers, meaning the least normative, the least juridical and most insightful and brilliant writer, different from their own authors who always tended to mix politics with law. As such, one can find many references to the Florentine as 'acutissimus Machiavellus' without any signs of rejection, but of careful distinction between those maxims to be refuted and other observations by him to be admired. The work of the Italian refugee brothers Gentili, Alberico and Scipio, the one in England, the other teaching at Nuremberg's university in Altdorf is an example for this,⁹² and in Altdorf, Gentili was the only native Italian voice among several Italianizing professors such as Michel

90 Nicollier-De Weck B., *Hubert Languet (1518–1581). Un réseau politique international de Melanchthon à Guillaume d'Orange* (Geneva: 1995).

91 Gentili Alberico, *De legationibus libri tres* [1594], ed. Brown Scott J., 2 vol. (Oxford: 1924) lib. III, chap. 8 = vol. 1, p. 168.

92 Reception of *Discorsi* III, 6 in Stupanus' translation without any sign of condemnation concerning the author as appendix to Scipione Gentili's commentary on Cod. IX, 8, 5,

Piccart and Arnold Clapmar. The reformed Justus Reiffenberg, teaching in Herborn and Bremen, edited anew the Latin translation of the *Discorsi* as the work of Machiavelli “the most political [*ho politikotatos*]”,⁹³ dedicating it to Polish magnates and continuing by that again the tradition already present with the Tegli – Perna – Stupano and even earlier with the Erasmus – Laski connection of linking Polish humanism and later Polish reformed learning to Western teaching through the centers of Italian heterodox immigration like Basel or the small Calvinist or Philippist universities in the Empire.

Until now the only known case where Machiavelli had been the object of a somewhat formal procedure of censorship in Protestant countries and cities was taking place just in the first of those centers of communication, Basel. This affair has been already reconstructed by Werner Kaegi.⁹⁴ It was about the second edition of Tegli’s Latin translation of Machiavelli’s *Principe* – but its ‘Protestant’ character was already minimized as it concerned foremost the preface of Stupanus to the Catholic Bishop of Basel, not of Machiavelli’s text itself, which led to a three-year suspension of Stupanus from his position at the university. Nevertheless, in that context an interesting merging between the Calvinist monarchomach treatises (foremost the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, in Basel thought to be a work of François Hotman) and Machiavelli’s *Prince* was happening. As both texts were often printed and bound together as political ‘poison’ and ‘medicine’, they came here both under consideration mostly as François Hotman, just established at Basel himself, became involved in that

1–7 under the title *De conjurationibus*, cf. Gentili S. *Opera omnia* (Napoli, J. Gravier: 1766) vol. 5, 135–153.

- 93 Machiavelli Niccolò, *Machiavelli Florentini, Tou Politikótatou, Discursus Ad Historiam Magni illius Livii, Libris III. expositi: Totius Reipublicae summam argute repraesentantes. Notis perpetuis & solennibus illustrati*, ed. Reiffenberg Justus (Marburg, Paul Egenolph: 1620). Reiffenberg’s other works show him basically as a Calvinist Republican (in the traditional meaning, which does not mean ‘anti-monarchical’) using Machiavelli next to other sources for his *Politica* teaching in that direction (*Dissertatio Politica Gemina* [Herborn, s.n. (i.e. Georg Rab or Corvinus): 1618]; *Monita, Exempla, Consilia Politica, Pro Veteranis Ab Aula* [Frankfurt a.M., Nikolaus Hoffmann for Konrad Eifrid: 1619]; *Satyricon Nomico-Politicum In Minorum Gentium Aulicos* [s.l., s.n.: 1619]; *Politische Beantwortung folgender aufgestellten dreyer Fragen* [Herborn, s.n. (i.e. Georg Rab or Corvinus): 1619]; Botero Giovanni, *Politia Regia: In Qua Totius Imperiorum Mundus, Eorum Admiranda, Census, Aeraria, Opes, Vires, Regimina, & fundata stabulitaq[ue] Magnitudo, copiosius, accuratius edisseruntur*, ed., comment. Justus Reiffenberg, transl. [Marburg, Paul Egenolph: 1620]; *Dissertatio Politico-Historica* [Bremen, typis Villerianis: 1625]).
- 94 Kaegi W., “Machiavelli in Basel” *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 39 (1940) 5–41.

affair. Basilius Amerbach, rector of the University and as such the competent censor of a work of one of his colleagues (Stupanus), gave a report about that affair in 1580 and it seems that a purgative reading of Machiavelli had been conducted, deleting and emending some parts for the reprint at the faculty of liberal arts of Basel University.⁹⁵ But in the end, after the destruction of the first reprinted edition of 1580 with the dedicatory letter to the Catholic bishop, the only change in the second concerned emendments within Stupanus' letter itself. Neither in this, nor in the third reprint edition where Stupanus' letter was left out completely, while it was replaced by one of the printer Perna himself, any changes to the translation of Machiavelli itself were made. So the alleged censorship of Machiavelli's text that would parallel the Catholic enterprises by Doni and others roughly at the same time in Italy were not taken into account. Machiavelli was not censored, as Hotman might have wanted, as a dangerous author as such, but just the catholicizing preface of Stupanus, which made the text suspect of being something like advice within local political conflicts between a bishop who tried to regain villages and territory outside of the town against the protestant city of Basel was censored by Amerbach and Zwinger. The catholicizing elements of that 'Machiavelli' were censored, while the protestantized Machiavelli remained in Protestant countries a text that could be printed freely in its translation, even after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

3 Conclusion

A double-faced Machiavelli was thus created in Protestant Northern Europe. The most political, most brilliant modern contributor to reflections and forms

95 'Ob nun Machiauellus censirt oder verboten worden hab ich kein andern bericht, dan ich von D. Rectore Zuingerio [i.e. Theodor Zwinger] verstanden wie facultas artium etwas darin vnderstrichen heben, so verbessert werden sollten. Ist auch Wie dan auch, ob mir gleich wol bewust das ich mit D. Cochio [i.e. Ulrich Koch, professor of theology at Basel university], diser andern pefation hab red ein mal oder zwei gehalten, vnn bei dem anzeigt das mich betunckt D Stupanus hab in dem versickel de castitat<e> cleri nit auf matrimonij prohibitionem, sondern concubinatum expulsionem deuten wellen' (Basilius Amerbach, Report on the affair of the reprint of the Tegli translation by Stupanus in 1580, UB Basel C VIa 46, p. 666: Almási G., "Experientia and the Machiavellian turn in religio-political and scientific thinking: Basel in 1580", *History of European Ideas* 2016, 1–26, here 7, 24–25 – the passage 'de castitate cleri' alludes to a phrase, again in Stupanus' preface, not in Machiavelli's text, where Stupanus is praising Bishop Blarer for having reintroduced chastity among the Catholic clerics of his diocese: Stupanus was conceiving of him as a good and efficient counter Reformation bishop in the Borromean tradition).

of analysis that could be put in dialogue with Tacitean analyses of Tiberian politics, with Lipsius and that growing body of Tacitist reasoning; and the diabolic Machiavelli that could be taken as an easy cipher for bad (mostly bad confessional Catholic) politics, just being the reversal of the same perception persistent within Catholic polemics and propaganda itself. In that latter simplistic form of a polarizing cipher he was what Croce called the ‘Marx of the premodern age’ because he produced the discursive order of clear-cut antagonistic oppositions without entering any deeper into his thoughts and method. But the complex fissure underlying this polarizing binary form (good politics vs. Machiavellian politics) that could be quite simplistic, was rooted in different layers of social networks: of migrating Italian heterodox thinkers; of Central European authors of different confessional positions who were ‘italianizing’ – but starting from different conceptions of the human postlapsarian nature and of the conformity of pagan and humanist thinking with scripture. And the twofold Central European way to receive Machiavelli was finally produced also by the intersection of the discursive movements from the West with those from the South.

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On the Origins of Enlightenment: The Fruits of Migration in the Italian Liberal Historiographical Tradition

Neil Tarrant

Studies of the Italian religious exiles of the sixteenth century have a long and rich history. It is not my intention in this paper to attempt to provide an overview, let alone a critique of this entire corpus of writings. Instead, I offer a discussion of some distinctive features of one highly influential interpretation of this diaspora, developed within what I have elsewhere termed the ‘Italian liberal historiographical tradition’.¹ I focus particularly on the work of three historians, active between the beginning and middle of the last century: Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), Delio Cantimori (1904–1966) and Luigi Firpo (1915–1989). It is, of course, unnecessary to assert the centrality of their work to our understanding of the historiography of the Italian Reformation. Studies of their work have summarised and critiqued their central arguments, described the numerous programmes of research that they stimulated and reconstructed aspects of the genealogy of their thought. One crucial dimension of their work has not yet been discussed in sufficient detail, however. That is, the broader narrative that structured their accounts, and the manner in which it framed their interpretation of the thought of the individuals and communities that they studied, including the Italian exiles.²

It may be helpful to justify my use of the term ‘Italian liberal historiographical tradition’. I refer to a ‘tradition’ in the sense that it is possible to identify successive generations of scholars who, from at least the mid nineteenth

1 I have previously used this term in Tarrant N, “Concord and Toleration in the Thought of Francesco Pucci, 1578–81”, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 46, 4 (2015) 983–1003, here 983–987.

2 For a detailed discussion of the historiography of the Italian Reformation, with frequent reference to the role of the exiles, see Firpo M., “Historiographical Introduction”, *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (ca. 1750–1997)*, compiled by J. Tedeschi in association with J.M. Lattis (Modena: 2000) xviii–xlix. See also Tedeschi J., “I contributi culturali dei riformatori protestanti italiani nel tardo Rinascimento”, *Italica* 64, 1 (1987) 19–61; Prosperi A., “Italy,” in H.J. Hillebrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, 4 vols. (Oxford: 1996) vol. 2, 324–329.

century, consciously engaged with a shared body of questions and concerns.³ Many of the tradition's core ideas were developed by a group of liberal scholars and political activists – often referred to as the 'Neapolitan Hegelians' – that included the brothers Bertrando (1817–1883) and Silvio Spaventa (1822–1893), and their contemporary Francesco De Sanctis (1817–1883). These thinkers sought not only to trace, but also to explain the course of Italy's development from the period of the Renaissance to the modern age. Although there were differences within their respective accounts of the early modern period, they argued that during the Renaissance Italians had enjoyed intellectual liberty. This freedom enabled contemporaries to develop new forms of rational thought that anticipated those of the Enlightenment. From the late sixteenth century, their narrative continued, Italian liberty was suppressed, inaugurating a period of intellectual, social and political decline. Human progress nevertheless continued in other nations, notably Germany. Italy remained largely unaffected by these developments until the early nineteenth century, when the rebirth of Italian liberty triggered their nation's resurgence or *Risorgimento*.⁴

In this article, I trace the manner in which these earlier liberal histories shaped the writings of Croce, Cantimori and Firpo. It would be misleading either to reduce the thought of these scholars to a slavish adherence to this tradition, or to suggest that they were all arguing precisely the same case. It is also clear that not all were avowed political Liberals; Cantimori is perhaps the most obvious example.⁵ There are, nonetheless, clear points of continuity both between their respective accounts of Italian history, and with those provided in the earlier tradition. Croce, Cantimori and Firpo each believed that intellectual history could provide a key to interpret the political and social vicissitudes of their homeland from the Renaissance to the modern age. Their accounts were also structured by a history of the development of liberty conceived in a specific sense: the freedom to think rationally and to debate ideas, unfettered by religious or political authority.

3 On the connections between the thought of individuals such as Vincenzo Cuoco, Vincenzo Gioberti, Bertrando Spaventa, Francesco de Sanctis, Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile, see Rubini R., *The Other Renaissance: Italian Humanism between Hegel and Heidegger* (Chicago – London: 2014), chapter 1.

4 On the Neapolitan Hegelians and their influence see for example Oldrini G., *Gli hegeliani di Napoli: Augusto Vera e la corrente ortodossa* (Milan: 1964) especially chapter 1; Garin E., *Filosofia e politica in Bertrando Spaventa* (Naples: 1983); *Gli hegeliani di Napoli e la costruzione dello stato unitario* (Rome: 1989).

5 See Pertici R., "Mazzinianesimo, fascismo, comunismo: l'itinerario politico di Delio Cantimori (1919–1943)", *Chromohs* 2 (1997) 1–128.

These historians' researches also did much to elaborate and refine the narrative established in the earlier liberal tradition. On the one hand, they stressed the strong connections between the thought of the Renaissance and that of the Enlightenment. On the other, they showed that, despite the intellectual and cultural pre-eminence enjoyed by Italy during the Renaissance, the baleful influence of the Counter Reformation forced the nation into an age of decline. During this period, Italians were forced either to submit to the Church, consign themselves to a life of dissimulation, or accept exile in the Protestant lands. Croce, Cantimori and Firpo assigned a particular significance to these exiles, arguing that some amongst them carried into Northern Europe the independent style of thought characteristic of the Renaissance. Their accounts of the Italian diaspora were therefore concerned with a select group of exiles: the radicals who maintained a spirited defence of intellectual and religious liberty. To these radicals they ascribed a fundamental role in European history, arguing that although their values frequently set them at odds with the political and religious authorities of their host nations, the ideas they developed ultimately pointed the way to Enlightenment and modernity.

1 **The Formation of the Liberal Interpretation of Italian History**

From the 1840s a group of young men began to study recent German philosophy, especially the writings of G.W.F. Hegel. Drawing on Hegel's insights, they stressed the fundamental importance of liberty in history, and in particular the need for intellectual liberty. They held this freedom to be essential, on the ground that thought was not merely contemplative; in its most elevated forms, it served the needs of society. In 1844, writing in a short-lived Neapolitan journal, Silvio Spaventa argued that histories of philosophical thought could both explain Italy's current condition and provide a means to improve upon it by regenerating the nation's intellectual life. Sketching Italy's intellectual history, he identified the restriction of liberty as the primary cause of the nation's decline from the sixteenth century onwards. During the Middle Ages, Italy had been the centre of civilisation, but as a result of persecution it lost its pre-eminence. The civilising force that had once poured forth from the peninsula was nevertheless developed in other, unspecified, nations. Another of the Neapolitan Hegelians, Stanislao Gatti (1820–1870), further developed these ideas. In an essay of 1851, he observed that from the late sixteenth century events such as the burning of Giordano Bruno and the imprisonment of Tommaso Campanella and Galileo Galilei gradually deprived the human spirit of liberty in Italy. Although Gatti did not identify any mechanism for its transfer, he argued that the human spirit

subsequently re-emerged in Germany. There it was cultivated, and Germans were able to produce the modern philosophy that Gatti and his contemporaries studied in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶

Bertrando Spaventa further refined this interpretation of Italian history. In the early 1860s, that is, shortly after the unification of Italy, he delivered a series of lectures at the University of Bologna. He used them to elaborate a history of Italian thought that served two purposes. On the one hand, it provided an explanation for Italy's decline in the period subsequent to the Renaissance and demonstrated the necessity for intellectual regeneration as a precondition for political and social revival. On the other, it enabled him to defend and justify the use of 'foreign' – that is, non-Italian – philosophy to achieve this latter aim.⁷ Spaventa declared that during the sixteenth century: 'Italy opens the doors of civilisation with a phalanx of heroes of thought.' This phalanx comprised Pietro Pomponazzi, Bernardino Telesio, Bruno and Campanella, who 'herald more or less all the later directions, which constitute the period from Descartes to Kant.'⁸ More specifically, Spaventa considered Telesio and Campanella to be precursors to Francis Bacon and John Locke, Campanella to René Descartes and Bruno to Baruch Spinoza. Despite Italy's decadence, the nation produced one last purely Italian thinker of note. This was Giambattista Vico, who, in his *Nuova scienza* (1725), established the problems that would be pursued by later German philosophers. Given the extent of Italian thinkers' subsequent influence, it was, Spaventa argued, acceptable to study foreign philosophy, for 'Studying also this thought, we will study ourselves better; since it is nothing else in substance than our thought in another form.' Spaventa thus articulated a concept of a 'circulation of knowledge', which he used to demonstrate that Italian thought was the foundation of all modern philosophical developments. To study modern German philosophy was to engage with a fundamentally Italian tradition of thought.⁹

Spaventa also sought to explain why Italy had lost its intellectual pre-eminence. Like his brother and his associate Gatti, he attributed this decline

6 Grilli M., "The Nationality of Philosophy and Bertrando Spaventa", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2, 3 (1941) 339–371, 353–358, Gatti quoted 357.

7 Grilli, "Nationality of Philosophy" 358–369.

8 Spaventa B., *La filosofia italiana nelle sue relazioni con la filosofia europea*, ed. G. Gentile (Bari: 1926) 31: 'L'Italia apre le porte della civiltà con una falange di eroi del pensiero [... loro] precludono più o meno a tutti gli indirizzi posteriori, che costituiscono il periodo da Cartesio a Kant.'

9 Spaventa, *La filosofia italiana* 32: 'Studiando anche questo pensiero, noi studieremo meglio noi stessi; giacchè esso non è altro in sostanza che lo nostro pensiero in altra forma.'

to the restrictions placed on liberty by the Counter-Reformation Church and the Spanish monarchy. Since the imprisonment of Campanella and the burning of Bruno, he noted, there had been two philosophical traditions within Italy: that of the nation's finest minds and that of their persecutors. Each side claimed that theirs was the true Italian philosophy, the system of thought that should be used to make and defend the true Italy. This conflict continued down until his own age. It had impeded the development of the philosophy of the *Risorgimento*, preventing Italians from seeing the true value of the work of their own philosophers such as Vico. 'Thus the lack of freedom for a long time made us like strangers to ourselves, and our true thought became almost a secret to us, [whilst our philosophy was] thriving in other lands.' His lecture ended with the rallying cry: 'It is now time to retake it, that which is ours, now that we are free.'¹⁰

Hegel's influence was also apparent in the account of Italian history developed by Francesco De Sanctis. In his *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1870–71), De Sanctis was concerned to trace the history of Italian national consciousness, and how it was expressed through the nation's literature.¹¹ According to De Sanctis, by the early sixteenth century the Italian nation had reached a high level of intellectual sophistication. Many of Italy's finest minds were unreceptive to Martin Luther's calls for reform. Whilst they scorned the corruption of the Roman court, they regarded Luther as a barbarian. For its part, the Church failed to understand why either the Germans sought reform or the Italians regarded the Church with incredulity. Consequently, it sought simply to impose a new discipline. As a consequence there emerged two camps, that of reform and that of the Church. Whilst the reformers proclaimed the importance of reason, the Church asserted its authority. 'The Church, or rather the Pope proclaims himself the sole and infallible interpreter of the truth, and declares heretical not only this or that proposition, but liberty and reason, the right of examination and discussion. From this struggle emerged the modern concept of liberty.'¹² From Trent there also arose a mutually supporting alliance

10 Spaventa, *La filosofia italiana* 33: 'Così la mancanza di libertà ci fece per lungo tempo come stranieri a noi medesimi, e il nostro vero pensiero divenne quasi un segreto per noi, prosperando in altre contrade [...] È tempo di ripigliarlo, che è nostro, ora che siamo liberi.'

11 On De Sanctis and the Italian Reformation, see Firpo "Historiographical Introduction" xxxiii.

12 De Sanctis F., *Storia della letteratura italiana* ed. M.T. Lanza, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Milan: 1964) 575: 'La Chiesa, anzi il papa si proclama solo e infallibile interprete della verità e dichiara eretica non questa o quella proposizione solamente, ma la libertà e la ragione, il diritto di esame e di discussione. Da questa lotta esce il concetto moderno della libertà.'

between absolute monarchy and the papacy. Within Italy, some individuals resisted this new settlement, but those who refused to betray their conscience faced either the stake or a life of exile. Many who left were highly industrious individuals who honoured their homeland by preaching and writing in Switzerland, England and Germany. He singled out the contribution of one exile in particular. 'The most hardworking of all was Socinus, from Siena, from whom the Socinians take their name.'¹³ Proclaiming the centrality of reason and the importance of free will, Socinus demonstrated a clearer understanding of Reform than either Luther or Calvin. Most Italians nevertheless remained indifferent to the example set by their more daring countrymen. Passively accepted their new conditions of existence, they allowed their intellectual culture to stagnate. The only traces of a future Italy lay within the work of individuals such as Campanella, Bruno and Galileo.¹⁴

2 Benedetto Croce

Benedetto Croce was born in Pescasseroli, Abruzzo in 1866. Following the death of his parents in an earthquake in 1883, he came to live with his uncle Silvio Spaventa in Rome. There he made the acquaintance of Antonio Labriola (1843–1904), a former student of Bertrando Spaventa, and began to study philosophy in greater depth. In 1896, he began a close working relationship with Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944). Born in Sicily, Gentile subsequently studied at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa (1893–97) where he was mentored by Donato Jaja (1839–1914). Jaja was a former student of Francesco Fiorentino (1834–84), who had himself studied under Bertrando Spaventa. Together Croce and Gentile worked to promote a form of Neoidealism, especially through the journal *La critica* that Croce founded in 1902. Broadly speaking, Croce sought to develop De Sanctis's legacy and Gentile that of Bertrando Spaventa.¹⁵ Working within this tradition, both men stressed the importance of intellectual thought in Italy's political and social development, and continued the Neapolitan Hegelians' efforts to elaborate the nation's intellectual history. By the early 1920s, growing intellectual and political differences began to strain their relationship. Their growing alienation was reflected in Gentile's decision to found his own journal, *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, and his

13 De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura* 576: 'Operosissimo fra tutti il Socino, da Siena, da cui presero nome i sociniani.'

14 De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura* chapter 19.

15 Rubini, *The Other Renaissance* 88–105.

burgeoning support for Fascism. Gentile accepted the position of Minister for Public Information in Mussolini's first government, in which capacity he implemented a series of influential school reforms. He also worked to provide the movement with an intellectual justification. As Richard Bellamy has observed, by associating Fascism with the neo-Hegelian idea of the ethical state, he hoped 'to provide it with a lineage going back to the Risorgimento period that allowed him to designate it the true heir of the Italian liberal tradition.'¹⁶

At the heart of Croce's writings lay an abiding concern for the role played by liberty in human history. He produced some of his most important theoretical reflections on these themes against the backdrop of Fascism. In *La storia come pensiero e come azione* (1938), he maintained that, even in unpropitious circumstances, liberty always persisted in some form. It was, he asserted, the historian's role to listen out for liberty, even when studying those eras in which it appeared to be entirely absent. Following his own injunction, he adopted an unapologetically selective, if not elitist, approach to selecting subjects for study. The historian, he maintained, should study only those spirits in which freedom abided, for they alone are 'those who count historically'. Such spirits, he continued, conveyed a message, which – like the message of a great artist or poet – few could appreciate.¹⁷

These themes were also prominent in Croce's empirical writings, such as the *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia* (1929) and the essay *La crisi italiana del Cinquecento e il legame del Rinascimento col Risorgimento* [*The Italian Crisis of the Sixteenth Century and the Relationship between Renaissance and the Risorgimento*]. In these works, Croce set out his understanding of the relationship between the thought of the Italian Renaissance and the *Risorgimento*. For Croce, Renaissance Italians' primary achievement was emphasising the importance of temporal affairs. By 'exalting the earthly life', they had rejected the religiosity of the Middle Ages, which had focussed their finest minds on transcendent matters. He stressed that the Renaissance was, nevertheless, a religious movement. Contemporaries' celebration of temporal life reflected their central achievement: the development of reason. This was itself, Croce maintained, a religious phenomenon. By carrying out the work of reason, Renaissance Italians began to investigate problems of moral conscience, freedom, politics and history. This particular path of development was,

16 Bellamy R., "Social and Political Thought", in Lyttelton A., (ed.), *Liberal and Fascist Italy* (Oxford: 2002) 245. On Gentile's contested legacy, see Turi G., "Giovanni Gentile: Oblivion Criticism and Remembrance", *The Journal of Modern History* 70, 4 (1998) 913–933.

17 Croce B., *La storia come pensiero e come azione* (Bari: 1938) 49: 'quelli che storicamente contano'.

he continued, so logically necessary that it was inevitably adopted by all of European civilisation. More specifically, he argued that it informed what he termed the 'new rationalism' of the seventeenth century, and affirmed that the force by which it was directed 'was always the rational principle that the Renaissance had affirmed against medieval transcendence.'¹⁸

Like the earlier liberal authors before him, Croce remained convinced that from the later sixteenth century Italy entered a period of decadence. The means he developed to explain this phenomenon were informed partly by opposition to modern intellectual trends. Severely critical of positivist attempts to interpret history, he rejected any analyses that sought to explain a given historical phenomenon by reference to other 'facts'. Such explanations included Italy's failure to unify. He rejected this interpretation on the ground that it ignored inconvenient truths such as the fact that a unified Spain also entered a period of decadence. He also dismissed the idea that Italy's decadence could be ascribed to its domination by foreign nations. Had this been true, he asserted, its people would simply have risen up against their oppressors as they did during the *Risorgimento*. He dispensed equally quickly with the argument that the end of communal government had heralded the decline of Italian liberty. The death of freedom, conceived in these terms at least, had long preceded the crisis of the Cinquecento.¹⁹

Croce then turned to consider a fourth putative cause of Italy's decline: the nation's failure to undergo a Reformation. For Croce religious reform was assuredly vital to historical development, but he argued that the Protestant Reformation was neither the only, nor even the most important, reformation to have occurred during the sixteenth century. Prior to Luther's protest, Renaissance Italians had already paved the way for an alternative, truly rational, process of reform. These earlier developments meant that Italy provided a receptive audience for the writings of Northern Reformers such as Luther and Desiderius Erasmus. Echoing De Sanctis, Croce maintained that the Northern Reformation 'did not correspond well to the intellectual and cultural condition, to which Italy had already raised itself, and, in effect, it was disdained by sublime minds and by the most liberal spirits, such as Giordano Bruno.'²⁰

18 Croce B., "La crisi italiana del Cinquecento e il legame del Rinascimento col Risorgimento", *La critica* 37 (1939) 401–411, here 403: 'esaltando la vita terrena'; 405: 'fu sempre il principio razionale che il Rinascimento aveva affermato contro la trascendenza medievale.'

19 Croce, "Crisi italiana" 401–03.

20 Croce, "Crisi italiana" 403: 'non bene rispondeva alla condizione intellettuale e culturale a cui si era già alzata l'Italia, e, in effetti, fu disdegnata da menti sublimi e da liberissimi spiriti, come Giordano Bruno.'

The pre-eminence of Italy's reformation was confirmed, he continued, by the role subsequently played by the nation's religious exiles. These were groups of Italians, who, having joined the new Protestant Churches, were forced to flee across the Alps to find refuge from persecution. Although they continued to adhere to the new confessions in exile, they also maintained the habits of free, rational thought that had characterised the Italian Renaissance. Their commitment to intellectual independence not only deeply unsettled their hosts, but led them to develop radical ideas such as natural religion and tolerance.²¹

It remained to be explained why this characteristically Italian reform movement withered away in its homeland. For Croce it was pointless to seek any external 'cause' to explain this development. It was, he maintained, necessary to understand Italy's decline as nothing other than a suspension, albeit temporary, of the attempt to investigate rationality more deeply. Italy was no longer truly alive. An 'otherworldly concept' dominated the peninsula's inhabitants, focussing their minds upon the next rather than the present world. Consequently, Italy entered the Age of the Baroque, a period of decadence that lasted until the end of the following century.²² Croce provided a fuller account of this era in his *Storia dell'età barocca*. He described how the Counter Reformation Church sought to use culture as a mean to secure its institutional authority. For this reason, it inspired no great works of art or literature. Deploying his method of listening out for the traces of liberty even in the most unpromising circumstances, he noted that Renaissance rationalism continued to develop in a limited number of fields, notably the physical and natural sciences.²³

Rationalism languished within Italy during its period of decadence, nevertheless it continued to operate in Northern Europe. There it maintained what Croce considered the greatest achievement of the Protestant Reformation: sustaining the 'restored authority of the moral conscience against the sacramentalism and casuistry of the Catholic Church'.²⁴ Renaissance rationalism also expressed itself felt through the contribution of Italian exiles. Croce considered only those exiles whom he believed had carried forth Italian rationalism and liberty. He drew particular attention to the sects of the radical Reformation, specifically the Antitrinitarians, Socinians and Arminians, whose

21 Croce, "Crisi italiana" 404. See too Firpo "Historiographical Introduction" xl–xli.

22 Croce, "Crisi italiana" 409: 'concezione oltremondana'.

23 Croce B., *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia: pensiero, poesia e letteratura, vita morale*, 2nd ed. (Bari: 1946) chapter 5.

24 Croce, "Crisi italiana" 405: 'restaurata autorità della coscienza morale contro il sacramentalismo e la casistica della Chiesa cattolica'.

members used the new rationalism to oppose all forms of dogma and superstition. Although Croce did not expand on these themes at length, he noted that through their defiant intellectualism, these individuals drove forward the work of reason, eventually establishing a new basis for the monarchical state, and the acceptance of religious toleration at a state level. Modern Liberalism itself, he continued, ultimately derived from their demand for freedom of thought, and the acceptance of the supreme value of the life of truth in human civilisation.²⁵

Croce maintained that these intellectual developments would ultimately bear fruit that Italians could pick. Echoing the earlier liberal authors, he argued that the *Risorgimento* started when Italians began to engage once more with their intellectual heritage. Whilst liberty was never extinguished within Italy during the age of decadence, it was not truly expressed again until the age of Giambattista Vico and Pietro Giannone. Although Italians were reconnecting with the spirit of the Renaissance, they now encountered it at a new more advanced stage of its development. It had been changed and reformed by the experiences of the Wars of Religion, which had established the need for toleration. Rationalism itself had also been refined during the course of the seventeenth century by philosophers such as Descartes, who had in turn benefitted from the insights of the last of the great Italian Renaissance philosophers: Bruno and Campanella. By reconnecting with the spirit of the Renaissance, Italy was able to resume the course of its development until it arrived at the moment of the 'triumph of liberal ideas'.²⁶

3 Delio Cantimori

Cantimori was born in 1904 in Russi, Emilia Romagna. He began to study philosophy at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa in 1924, where he came under the influence of Giuseppe Saitta (1881–1965). A former student of Gentile, Saitta imparted to Cantimori, amongst other things, an enduring interest in the Spaventa brothers' concept of the nationality of history.²⁷ Cantimori subsequently produced a highly influential series of works on the Italian exiles, including his classic study, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento*, first published in 1939. Cantimori did not attempt to reconstruct the Italian diaspora as a whole, but

²⁵ Croce, "Crisi italiana" 405–406.

²⁶ Croce, "Crisi italiana" 409–11, here 411: 'trionfo della concezione liberale'.

²⁷ On Cantimori's early intellectual development see Sasso G., *Delio Cantimori filosofia e storiografia* (Pisa: 2005) chapter 1–2; on Saitta and the Spaventian tradition see 28.

instead focussed on recounting the history of selected exiles. He was primarily interested in those communities of intellectuals that gathered in Northern Europe, and especially Switzerland. More specifically, he sought to tell the story of those whom he termed the *eretici*, that is, those who were – in his celebrated formulation – ‘ribelli ad ogni forma di comunione religiosa organizzata, ecclesiastica’.²⁸ In the preface to the 1949 edition of *Eretici italiani*, Cantimori reflected upon the gestation of his research. He recalled that he had initially developed his ideas whilst attempting to reformulate the problem of Italian consciousness as proposed by Gentile and Gioacchino Volpe (1876–1971). Such a problem was, he reflected, highly appealing to him because of his early intellectual formation. His education was shaped by ‘the ferment of Croceanism and above all Gentilean idealism, at that time in its first burst of diffusion in the Italian schools.’ This had engendered in him a commitment to Mazzinian and Republican ideals, and an attendant hostility to both the monarchy and the Catholic Church.²⁹

Cantimori provided a more detailed account of the development of his thought in an unpublished draft of the preface to the 1949 edition. He recalled that he had initially set out to establish Italy’s primary role in a European movement, and to relate the story of Italian precursors to ‘modern thought’. In this sense, he had conceived of his work primarily as a history of philosophical ideas, establishing the Italian origins of a number of developments, including: rationalism, the methodological problems of philosophy, the idea of religious toleration and those of religious liberty. He recounted also, the gradual reconfiguration of his project. As his work progressed, he started to focus less on the relationships between ideas than on the relations between the people who created them. Whilst pursuing his research in Zurich and Basel, he began to abandon his original concept of establishing the intellectual primacy of the Italian nation, gradually replacing it with a study of the diffusion of a national intellectual tradition. Later, during the course of series of public and private discussions with Croce, he realised that he was no longer dealing with a history of philosophy but ‘a history of doctrines and political movements’.³⁰ Cantimori’s finished book traced a coherent community of Italian emigrants, which, he

28 Cantimori D., *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento e Prospettive di storia ereticale del Cinquecento*, ed. A. Prosperi (Turin: 1992 and 2002) 9: ‘rebels against every form of religious, organised, church communion’.

29 Cantimori, *Eretici* 7: ‘fermento del crocianesimo e soprattutto dell’idealismo gentiliano, allora al suo primo slancio di diffusione nelle scuole italiane’.

30 Cantimori, *Eretici* 11–13, here 13: ‘una storia delle dottrine e dei movimenti politici’. On Cantimori’s engagement with Croce’s work see Sasso, *Delio Cantimori* chapter 3 and 5;

maintained, formed an opposition to the dominant confessions of Northern Europe. Cantimori believed that the *eretici* formed a distinctive group for no more than two generations before dispersing into a wider European movement. This movement, nonetheless, continued to carry the Italian name of Socinianism.³¹

Like earlier liberal thinkers, Cantimori contended that the exiles' ideas were rooted in the thought of the Renaissance, but he traced their influence with greater precision. He identified three distinctive contributions made by fifteenth-century Italian thinkers. The first was the philological techniques developed by Lorenzo Valla. When Valla applied his hermeneutic method to the fields of law and theology, Cantimori argued, '[it] acquired a profoundly revolutionary quality'.³² This was because, when deployed to address specific problems, the clear and precise use of words had a purely technical significance, but when applied to universal problems – that is ideas – it assumed a fundamental importance. Used in this manner, Valla's method reinvigorated Italian intellectual life, enabling contemporaries to formulate their society's needs with renewed clarity.³³

Secondly, Cantimori highlighted the importance of Florentine Neoplatonism, which developed in the circle that gathered around Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. For Cantimori this had never been a purely philosophical movement, but was always entwined with political concerns.³⁴ The tendency to combine religious, philosophical and political themes was especially evident in the work of Ficino. On the one hand, he fused the needs of religious reform with a desire to create a new Christian apologetic; on the other, he combined the philosophical discussion of moral and ethical issues with speculation and contemplation. Cantimori also contended that Ficino's work contained hints at a critique of some of the fundamental dogmas of Church doctrine, notably those concerning the Trinity. He also drew attention to the Florentine Neoplatonists' discussion of whether virtuous pagans could have been saved, an idea which implied the devaluation of the role of grace and the attendant valorisation of *caritas*. Finally, Cantimori noted the influence of a third feature of Renaissance thought: Giovanni Francesco Pico's scepticism. Rejecting Ficino's attempt to re-found Christianity on a philosophical basis,

on his 'conversazione' with Croce see 127–133. See also Prosperi, "Introduzione", *Eretici* xxvii–xl and Firpo, "Historiographical Introduction" xli–xliii.

31 Cantimori, *Eretici* 14.

32 Cantimori, *Eretici* 16: 'aquisitava valore profondamente rivoluzionario.'

33 Cantimori, *Eretici* 16.

34 Cantimori, *Eretici* 17.

Pico proposed instead the reaffirmation of Church tradition. This amounted to an effort to reform manners and reassert ecclesiastical discipline, conceived in a Savonarolian sense.³⁵

Cantimori shared Croce's belief that these forms of Renaissance thought had influenced an Italian movement for religious reform that antedated the Northern Reformation. He enriched the latter's picture by drawing attention not only to humanist rational reform, but also to an upsurge in Millenarian belief in the years prior to 1500 that also led to calls for religious renewal. The Fathers of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17) were unable to channel any of these various indigenous influences into meaningful reform, however. In the wake of the Council's failure, there emerged three strands of Italian reformist thought. The first was Valdesianism, that is, the forms of inner devotion developed by Juan de Valdés. For Cantimori, this movement, as expressed by the religious practices of Giulia Gonzaga, for instance, ultimately led nowhere. The second, was a movement for 'Catholic Reform', which he conceived as an effort to realise the ambitions of the Fifth Lateran Council. It manifested itself in the attempts made by Jacopo Sadoletto and Gasparo Contarini to reform the Church, for instance by means of the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* of 1538, and later efforts to effect reform at the Council of Trent. The followers of the ideas of Ulrich Zwingli, Luther and Philip Melancthon constituted the third reformist strand. It was crushed by the forces of Catholic repression. Italian Protestants were forced either to renounce their beliefs or accept exile. Many chose the latter option. Throughout the *Cinquecento* there was widespread emigration, which became particularly intense between the years 1540 and 1560. The majority of the exile communities were short-lived. With the exception of the Italian Church in Geneva, they were rapidly assimilated by their host societies.³⁶

Cantimori identified the development of a further group during this period: the 'Anabaptists.' He maintained that although the Italian Anabaptists were connected to other strains of reformist thought, they defended ideas that were not to be found in any of the northern Reformed Churches. Although many of the movement's early members were drawn from the lower social orders, it was sustained by ideas and concepts formulated by Renaissance humanists, including anti-Trinitarian ideas, interests in Neoplatonic themes, and a desire to advance rational and moral ideas. The Anabaptists' various beliefs were given a degree of cohesion by their Christological interests. An emphasis on Christ's humanity encouraged them to develop a system of belief that tended towards

35 Cantimori, *Eretici* 17–20.

36 Cantimori, *Eretici* chapters 2 and 3.

the simplification of the faith, and scepticism towards ecclesiastical hierarchies. They combined these theological concerns with a recognition of the need for social reform. The Italian Anabaptists also began to draw upon and defend the ideas and concepts of the Spanish physician Michael Servetus. For Cantimori this did not mark a dilution of the movement's distinctively Italian character, for Servetus had, he maintained, originally formulated his ideas by drawing upon Italian humanism, notably the work of Valla. In the middle of the century, the movement held a series of meetings at which they established their shared beliefs, most notably those at Vicenza in (1549 or 1550) and Venice (1550).³⁷

Cantimori continued by describing how, in 1551, the Anabaptist movement was gravely stricken by the actions of the Inquisition. Many of its members fled to the Swiss canton of Grigioni. Others continued to practise their faith secretly and largely independently within Italy until the end of the sixteenth century. Those who fled to the 'evangelical' lands of the North did so in the hope of realising 'millenarian dreams or the possibility of an open minded intellectual life like that of the time before the crisis'.³⁸ These hopes were soon disappointed. With the 'heroic' phase of the Reformation complete, the new confessions began to take measures to establish conformity similar to those deployed by the Counter-Reformation Church. Events such as Servetus's execution in Calvin's Geneva in 1553 shattered any residual hopes that the Protestant nations would offer them religious or intellectual freedom. Some exiles, those who maintained the rational spirit of the Renaissance, felt unable to submit to Protestant orthodoxy. Unassimilated, they constituted an unsettled group 'that had in essence only the function of an internal critic to the Reformation itself and precursor to the Age of Enlightenment'.³⁹ These were Cantimori's *eretici*, the true focus of his book. They sought above all to create a new mode of Christian existence, one founded 'on the will and on personal conviction'.⁴⁰ They could be considered precursors of the Enlightenment due to their commitment to the free exercise of reason, but also because, in order to live according to their conscience within states demanding doctrinal conformity, they developed theories of religious toleration.

37 Cantimori, *Eretici* 40–42 and chapters 5–7.

38 Cantimori, *Eretici* 43: 'sogni millenari o la possibilità di una vita intellettuale spregiudicata come quella dei tempi anteriori alla crisi.'

39 Cantimori, *Eretici* 43: 'che ebbe in sostanza solo la funzione di critica interna della Riforma stessa e preparatrice dell'età dei lumi.'

40 Cantimori, *Eretici* 44: 'sulla volontà e sulla convinzione personale.'

4 Luigi Firpo

Luigi Firpo was born in Turin and studied in the city's university. He came to study under Gioele Solari (1872–1952), and with his guidance completed a dissertation on Tommaso Campanella's thought. In 1939 Firpo published a series of articles on Campanella's life and his thought. He would retain his interest in, and continue to publish on these themes throughout his life.⁴¹ Firpo's interest in Campanella also instigated his research on certain of the exiles.⁴² In 1967, he recalled how he had come across references to Campanella having shared an Inquisition cell with a certain 'Francesco Filidino eretico' who could recall the books of Luther and Calvin from memory. He realised that this illusive figure was in fact Francesco Pucci. He continued that: 'The way thus opened, the most effective aid to travel along it came to me from the work of Delio Cantimori.' Firpo subsequently produced a number of studies on Pucci's life and work.⁴³ The first of these was a study of his trial and death, which complemented his account of the trial and execution of Giordano Bruno. Both were published in the late 1940s. In these studies, Firpo did not seek to demonstrate the significance of the Italian diaspora as a whole, or even that of Cantimori's *eretici* conceived as a collective movement. Instead, he was concerned with reconstructing aspects of the biographies of individual Italian thinkers, tracing their intellectual development and contribution whilst in exile.⁴⁴

In these studies, Firpo did not explicitly situate his account of Pucci and Bruno's exile, return to Italy, or subsequent trial and execution, within a wider narrative of the history of sixteenth-century Italy. His later writings

41 For a bibliography of Firpo's writings, see Baldini A.E., "Bibliografia degli studi di Luigi Firpo (1931–1989)", in Barcia F. – Rota Ghibaudi S. (eds.), *Studi politici in onore di Luigi Firpo* (Milan: 1990) vol. 4, 563–789.

42 As A.E. Baldini has noted, although Firpo produced studies of a number of historical figures, including Pucci, Bruno and Machiavelli, most, if not all, of them originated from his interest in the Calabrian friar; see, Baldini A.E., "Gli studi campanelliani di Luigi Firpo", in Ernst G. – Fiorani C. (eds.), *Laboratorio Campanella: biografia, contesti, iniziative in corso: Atti del convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani Roma. 19–20 ottobre 2006* (Rome: 2008) 3–14, here 11 and idem, "Luigi Firpo and Machiavelli," in Bassani L.M. – Vivanti C. (eds.), *Machiavelli nella storiografia e nel pensiero politico del XX secolo: atti del convegno di Milano, 16 e 17 maggio 2003* (Milan: 2006) 139–166, here 140–142.

43 Firpo L., "Nuove ricerche su Francesco Pucci", *Rivista storica italiana* 79, 4 (1967) 1053–74, here 1053: 'Aperta così la via, il più efficace aiuto a percorrerla mi venne dell'opera di Delio Cantimori.'

44 Firpo L., "Processo e morte di Francesco Pucci", *Rivista di filosofia* 40, 1 (1949) 3–37; idem, "Il processo di Giordano Bruno", *Quaderni della rivista storica italiana* 1 (1949) 1–120.

nevertheless indicate that he selected individuals such as Pucci and Bruno for study because he believed that both their ideas and the events of their lives played an important role in the development of modern Italy. In the first of a series of articles treating the ecclesiastical censorship of philosophy, published in the early 1950s, he described the enervating effects of the Counter Reformation. From the mid-sixteenth century the Church, seeking to reassert its diminished authority, became increasingly intolerant. Using the Inquisition to pursue living, active heretics, and the Index of Forbidden Books to repress the circulation of ideas including those of the dead, the Church placed unprecedented restrictions on liberty. Under the pontificate of Pius V (1566–72), the severity of the repression increased markedly. During this period, it executed a number of leading Italian reformers, such as Pietro Carnesecchi. Since even Nicodemism was now untenable, the survivors were faced with a choice between conformity or exile. Many, including historically significant figures such as Fausto Sozzini and Bruno, chose to leave.⁴⁵

The Church's authoritarian tendencies reached a climax in the 1590s. By this time, popular heresy in Italy has been suppressed, the Turkish incursions of Christian territory halted, and the religious future of France secured by the conversion of Henri IV. Following these successes, the Church became yet more intransigent, but not, Firpo maintained, as an instrument, but as a consequence of its success. It extended its surveillance into spheres of human activity that had previously been beyond its purview. Inquisitors now regulated 'all manifestations of spiritual and social life, the concept of orthodoxy made itself extensive and rigid, it transcends the original religious nucleus by dogmatically striking ethics, politics, philosophy and art.' This unwarranted extension of religious authority had a deleterious effect on Italian religious and cultural life. Notably, it led to the suppression of a new style of Italian philosophy, born of the rejection of conventional Aristotelianism. It began with the censorship of works by Bernardino Telesio, Francesco Patrizi, and the investigations of Colantonio Stegliola and Giambattista Della Porta. It was brought to a violent conclusion by the execution of two recently returned exiles: Bruno and Pucci.⁴⁶

45 Firpo L., "Filosofia italiana e controriforma", parts I and II, *Rivista di filosofia* 41, 2 (1950) 150–173; idem, "Filosofia italiana e controriforma", part III, *Rivista di filosofia* 41, 4 (1950) 390–401; idem, "Filosofia italiana e controriforma", part IV, *Rivista di filosofia* 42, 1 (1951) 30–46.

46 Firpo, "Filosofia italiana e Controriforma" 150–153, here 153: 'tutte le manifestazioni della vita spirituale e sociale, il concetto di ortodossia si fa estensivo e rigido, trascende

Firpo's discussion of the suppression of Italian philosophy provides an important context for understanding his interests in the lives of exiles such as Bruno and Pucci. He considered their executions significant because they marked a tragic end to the lives of two leading Italian intellectuals. By relating their stories, Firpo drew tacit comparisons between the histories of Northern Europe and Italy. Whilst one region enjoyed relative freedom, the other endured increasing levels of intolerance. Firpo did not argue that Northern Europe offered Bruno and Pucci, or indeed anyone else, complete freedom of expression. He made clear that the communities in which Pucci lived never fully accepted him. He nevertheless also related several examples of limited forms of toleration afforded to Pucci. In exile both Pucci and Bruno had developed ideas of universal importance, but upon their return to their homeland they were executed for having expressed them. Their deaths played one final role in Firpo's narrative: dramatically illustrating the levels of intellectual repression within Italy at the end of the sixteenth century. This was a unique historical moment when levels of intolerance peaked, extinguishing free philosophical speculation and condemning the nation to decadence.⁴⁷

5 Conclusion

The writings of Croce, Cantimori and Firpo have provided a rich and stimulating picture of the religious exiles and their influence in Northern Europe. Their interpretations have been the point of departure for numerous studies that have further enhanced our understanding of the religious history of sixteenth-century Italy and its continued influence. A clear narrative informed their work, however. It illustrated Italy's pivotal role in the development of modern European civilisation by demonstrating that the thought of the Enlightenment originated in Renaissance Italy. This narrative also framed their accounts of the sixteenth-century Italian diaspora. Consequently, these historians tended to privilege the history of certain kinds of exile and particular forms of contribution to Northern European culture, and produced histories that highlighted the formulation and diffusion of ideas that appeared either to pre-figure or to contribute directly to the development of such concepts as

l'originario nucleo religioso per investire dogmaticamente l'etica e la politica, la filosofia e l'arte.'

47 Firpo L., "Francesco Pucci in Inghilterra", *Revue internationale de philosophie* 5, 2 (1951) 158–73; idem, "Nuove ricerche" 1054–63; idem, "Filosofia e controriforma" 153.

religious toleration. Croce, Cantimori and Firpo only told the stories of those exiles who contributed to this great intellectual ferment, and so did not consider the contributions that Italians may have made to fields such as art, music, or engineering.

The liberal tradition's tendency to focus on the thought of radical exiles is not, however, inherently problematic. It need not prevent further study of the Italian diaspora's contribution to other fields, for example. I suggest, however, that the emphasis that the liberal tradition placed on the exiles' contribution to the Enlightenment has led some historians to misrepresent their thought and its significance. On the one hand, it has encouraged a tendency exclusively to associate putatively modern values with the exile community. As John Tedeschi observed nearly thirty years ago, a yearning for religious toleration was no more reserved to the *eretici*, than a desire for doctrinal conformity was confined to the 'orthodox'.⁴⁸ On the other, the influence of the liberal tradition has encouraged some historians to construct the thought of individual exiles in misleading ways. To take one example, Pucci continues to be presented as a proponent of religious toleration and, more broadly, a harbinger of modernity. As I have argued elsewhere, it is possible to characterise his ideas in this manner only if they, and the context in which they were produced, are misrepresented.⁴⁹ These reservations should not be taken to imply that we should now ignore the authors of the liberal tradition. By studying their writings anew we can appreciate the continued importance of their many lessons, whilst simultaneously reconsidering the viability of their wider narrative. By doing this, we may be able to develop new and, perhaps, less present-centred interpretations of the Italian exiles' ideas and their subsequent intellectual influence.

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48 Tedeschi, "I contributi culturali" 40.

49 Tarrant, "Concord and Toleration".

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